Ex Gris: Wrau: Pro: Ne:

Ni: A Saundersson

A TREATISE OF THE INTEREST OF THE PRINCES AND STATES OF Christendome.

Written in French by the most Noble and Illustrious PRINCE, the Duke of *Rohan*.

Englished by *H. H.*

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TO THE MUCH HONOURED SIR JOHN PACKINGTON, IN THE County of Worceſter, BARONET.

SIR,

THE works of Great and Worthy Perſonages, ought chiefly

to be Dedicated to those, who love and honor their Vertues, which is the motive that I doe present these discourses of that great Captaine and States-man the Duke of *Rohan*, unto you.

And although you understand them perfectly in their owne origi-

originall, yet I hope they will not be unwelcome ſpeaking *Engliſh*, becauſe it may pleaſure or profit ſome others, whoſe benefit your Noble Charitie cheriſheth as your owne. Howſoever if any advantage redound from theſe papers, to the advancement of o-

thers knowledge, I ſhall not repent the imployment of the ſpare time that I beſtowed upon them in *France*, when I endeavored to teach them our tongue by learning theirs.

And though it ſhould happen that I faile in the accompliſhment of my de-

ſires

desires herein, yet would it satisfie me abundantly that *You* alone vouchsafe to accept the same, as an argument of such service as I owe, and would shew in a worthier manner, and as a present testimony to the world that I am

SIR, *Your humble and affectionate servant,*

HEN. HUNT.

THE PREFACE.

THe PRINCES *command the* People, *& the* Intereſt *commands the* Princes. *The knowledge of this* Intereſt *is as much more raiſed above*

bove that of Princes *actions, as they themſelves are above the* People. *The* Prince *may deceive himſelfe, his* Counſell *may be corrupted, but the Intereſt alone can never faile. According as it is well or ill underſtood, it maketh* States *to live or die. And as it alwaies aimeth at the*

aug-

augmentation, *or at leastwise the* conservation *of a* State, *so likewise to get thither, it ought to varie according to the times. So that to consider well the Interest of the Princes of this time, we need not remount very high, but only take the standing of the present affaires. For this purpose one ought*

to

to lay for a ground, that there be two Powers in Christendome, *which are as the two* Poles, *from whence descend the influences of peace and warre upon the other States, to wit, the Houses of* France *and* Spaine. *This of* Spain *finding it self augmented all at once, hath not been able to conceale the de-*

designe she had to make her selfe Mistresse, *and cause the* Sun *of a new* Monarchie *to rise in the* West. *That of* France *is forthwith carried to make a counterpoise. The other* Princes *are annexed to the one, or the other, according to their* Interest. *But forasmuch as this* Interest (*as it hath*

hath been well or ill followed) hath caused the ruine of some, or the greatnesse of others, I have purposed to publish in this present Treatise. First, what was the true Interest of these two mightie Powers, and then of the other which seeme in some manner to depend on their protection. Next of all I shall

shew

ſhew how much hath been the digreſſion from this true Intereſt, either becauſe the Prince *hath not well underſtood it, or elſe for that it was diſguiſed by the corruption of his* Miniſters.

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OF

OF THE INTEREST, OF SPAINE.

SPAINE is at the head of *Europe*, where the *Ocean* serves her for bounds, upon the entrance of the *Mediterranean sea*, which separates the same from *Affrick*, having the *Pyrenean* mountains for barriers against *France*. On this

great Countrey ſo well ſituated, do depend many *States*, ſpread in divers parts of the world. *Philip* King of *Spaine*, who attempted to extend this vaſt power to the top of all greatneſſe (finding himſelfe leſſe fit for war then *civill buſineſſes*) judged that *Monarchies* got as it were in poſt, by the valour of warlike *Princes*, are not of like continuance as thoſe which they get by eſtabliſhing a good *Counſell*, and which are founded upon good *maximes*.

Becauſe that theſe great *Conquerors* (who think only of vanqueſhing; and extending their dominions, and not of founding Lawes for their ſub-

ſubſiſtence) being not ordinarily ſucceeded by ſuch as equall their courage, and the vanquiſhed people having not yet loſt the memorie of their libertie, or of their ancient *Lords*, are eaſily carried to any change, ſeeing themſelves delivered from the fear of him that had ſubjected them. Which made this wiſe *Prince* reſolve to follow his own diſpoſition, and chooſe a courſe moſt agreeable to his impenetrable humor, that is, to proſecute his deſignes under a profound diſſimulation.

To this end, he fixed the ſeat of his dominion in *Spaine*, that he might from thence conveigh warmth to the mem-

bers looſened from this body, and might with more eaſe (conſerving peace by his preſence) trouble all the reſt of *Europe* by his ſubtilties. But the time failing him to accompliſh ſo loftie a deſigne, he left it nevertheleſſe ſo farre advanced, that it hath been eaſie for his ſucceſſors to proſecute the ſame. See now the *Maximes* obſerved hitherto as *Oracles*, which are properly the true *Intereſt* of *Spaine*.

The firſt is grounded upon *Religion*, as that which for conſcience ſake doth make people undertake any thing. There ought to be teſtified by the *Spaniard*, a great zeale to the *Catholik Religion*, that hee might

might ſerve himſelf of it in his deſignes. And hee ought to make the Pope conceive, that to favor the greatneſſe of *Spain* in ruining the *Proteſtants*, is the ſupport of his own authoritie, and puiſſance. It behoves him to perſwade the other *Princes* of *Italie*, that on the protection of *Spaine* depends the upholding of the *Church* againſt any other power. And that the entrance of *Strangers* into *Italie* be barred, to conſerve the Religion, which could not but be ſoyled by ſuch a commerce.

In *France*, where there be *Proteſtants*, and where the *Catholikes* are the *Maſters*, Hee ſhould incite the *King* to ba-

nish those, and solicite the *Pope* to urge the same, yet giving under-hand courage and assistance to the said *Protestants* to stir up there a *Civill Warre*; which might so much the more weaken the Kingdom. If the *King* perceiving the subtiltie of this counsell, will not give eare to it, Hee ought then to stirre up the *Catholiks* themselves against him, as against a favourer of *Hereticks*: to assist them also powerfully, and therein likewise to engage the *Pope*, if he can. For in what manner soever, he should procure that this Realm be destroyed of it self, as that which every where sets it selfe against the designe of the *Spanish Monarchie*. In

In *England* where the *Protestants* are *Masters*, where they bear the sway, hee ought to make peace in any wise with this Realme, to the end that through the power it hath at Sea, it doe not incommodate the *Indies*, where his chiefe treasures are. And that under this apparant amitie he may the more easily render himself *Protector* of the *Catholikes* of *England*. Wherfore he ought to advantage himself by the *Colledges* founded of purpose in *Flanders* and in *Spaine*, to instruct the *English youth* in the *Catholike Religion*, inciting them to come thither by the liberalitie there used, and to follow their studies there,

without paying any thing. Where the *Divinitie* they learne, is to acquire *Martyrdome*, and merit heaven, in ſerving the greatneſſe of *Spaine*, at the coſt of their *King* and *Country*.

In *Germanie*, where (though the *Emperor* be a *Catholike*) the *Proteſtants* ſhare ſo well the authoritie, that *he* needs to maintaine the *Empire* in the houſe of *Auſtria* (being the ſame with *Spaine*) as the ſole bull-warke againſt the *Proteſtants*, and he ſhould augment it from their ſpoils, under pretence of *Religion*, and a deſire thereby to defend *Chriſtendom* againſt the *Turke*.

In *Switzerland*, where the power

power is ſhared between two *Religions, he* ought to animate one ſide againſt the other, giving hope to the *Catholikes* of the ſpoile of the *Proteſtants*, and holding them in breath, to make them break as occaſion ſhall ſerve.

In the *Low-countries*, where the *Catholikes* have not any power, and where ſo long and bloodie warres have not been able to reduce this people under the yoake of *Spaine*, the endeavours ſhould be, to make them lay downe their armes through a long truce, and in this repoſe, to foment a *Schiſme* there, which may divide them betwixt themſelves.

To manage well these affaires, one must come to the second point, that consists in the manner to maintaine such intelligences as shall be necessary in all other *States*, which *he* must doe by the means of *Embassadours*, as persons towards whom respect is borne. Likewise by *Monkes* and *Preachers* that have great power in their pulpits and also in particular families, by *Money*, wherby men acquire *Confidents*, such on whose trust one may relie, and herein he must not be sparing. Above all, he must assay to gaine the principall *Ministers* of *Princes*, to divert the dangerous designes which they might have against

Spaine;

Spaine; Or elſe to render them odious, who are found too faithfull, and ruine them in any wiſe howſoever.

The third point toucheth *negotiations* & *treaties*, wherein hee muſt employ perſons *ſecret* and *patient*, He muſt allway ſhew a deſire of peace, thereby to caſt others alleep, and in the mean time prepare himſelf to warre, to ſurpriſe them unprovided.

If there happen any difference between two *pettie Princes*, hee ought to enterpoſe himſelf for their agreement, either as *Judge*, or *Arbitrator*, and to have *in depoſito*, in truſt (if he can) that which is in debate betwixt them, incen-

cenſing them (if hee can) in ſtead of appeaſing them, conſenting with the one to divide the ſpoils of the other, and upon the diviſion diſpoſſeſſe both. He ought, not to looſe any occaſion of intermedling in the affaires of his neighbours, but yet exclude others from medling with his. Eſpecially the *French* from the affairs of *Italie*, hindring them from having any entrance there, becauſe they are the only men that may fruſtrate the deſignes of *Spaine* in that Country.

The fourth point conſiſts in being *always powerfully armed*, which is an aſſured means to keepe his Subjects in obedi-

ence,

ence, and his Neighbours in reſpect, to prevẽt the deſignes of his enemies, to ſurpriſe them if they ſleep, and to take his own advantage from unexpected occaſions.

The fifth point is *reputation*, and although it dependeth on the foure firſt, nevertheleſſe, being ſimply conſidered, it eſtabliſheth a fifth maxime, whereby *Spaine* gaineth as much, as by any of the reſt. Conſidering that the opinion conceived of her great zeal for the maintenance of the Catholike Religion, covers with the cloake of pietie, all her other deſignes, and holds the people in a wonderfull awe. The feare of her

pro-

found intelligences through out, cauſeth other *Princes* to have a care that they engage not themſelves lightly againſt her. This aſſurance confirmed in mens underſtandings, by ſo much experience of her prudent dexterity (knowing how to advantage her ſelfe in Treaties) invites her inferiors to enter more forwardly in league with her, and to ſet themſelves under her ſhade. The eſtate of her *armes* always on foot, conſumes thoſe that are ſuſpicious of her, and aſſures others that depend on her protection.

From all theſe things reſults the reputation of *Spaine*. Her *Intereſt* is, to manage well *this*

pietie.

pietie. And though all *Princes* hold for a generall maxime, that they ſhould carefully conſerve their reputation, *Spaine* ought to be ſo much the more jealous therof, as her deſignes are greater then thoſe of other *States.*

This huge frame compoſed of ſo many parts, and as it were incumbred with its owne weight, moves by its ſecret ſprings, which looſe their force even as they are diſcovered.

***

OF

The Playing wch are properly the true Intrest of Spaine

1. The growth of Religion there ought to be a great Zeale to ye Catholick Rel:
2. Intelligence from all Parts by Embassadors, Monks or Jesuits &c. Especially no Counsel of Princes all Ministers of Princes. To divert any designe against him.
3. Its prosperitiers, & trade
4. Point 12. Allways to be powerfully armed.
5. Its Reputation.

From all these results & reputation of Spaine. And here the Intrest is to make use of all this Pity

The true fulcrum of France is to the earth & counter-point Spaine in all her maximes.
If it well observed will advance the Reputation of Spaine, & encourage other Princes to embrace ye Lawes of her Congregation.

OF THE INTEREST OF FRANCE.

FRANCE being ſeated between the *Alpes* and the *Pyrenean mountains*, and flanked by two *ſeas*, ſeems to be invited by *nature* to oppoſe it ſelf againſt the proceeding of this puiſſant Neighbourhood. For *ſhee* appeares like a banke

banke againſt this *torrent*, and the opportunitie of her ſcituation is ſuch, that ſhe may hinder the diſtribution of the *head* to the *members* of the *Monarchie* which does oppugne her.

But this being not ſufficient to croſſe the proceedings of *Spaine*, the *intereſt* of *France* is, to take all the *counter-courſe* (to impeach all ſhe may her deſigues) by *maximes*, which we come now to deliver unto you.

Henry the *fourth* (upon whom the activitie of all theſe ſubtilties has been excerciſed even to the uttermoſt point) having better underſtood them then any other before him (for that he proved them more

more) hee first confirmed the true interest of *France*, which is to thwart or counterpoint *Spaine* in all these points.

In such wise, that if the first maxime of the interest of *Spaine* be, to prosecute the *Protestants*, for to grow by their spoils: the first of the interest of *France* is, to make the *Catholikes* perceive the venom hidden under the same. Especially to let the *Court* of *Rome* understand that the hopes which *Spaine* gives her to augment her treasures by the ruin of *Protestants*; is not but to further her designe towards the *Monarchie*, where she can no sooner arive, but the

Pope

Pope muſt become her *Servant*, whereas his authoritie never hath more luſtre, then when the power of *Chriſtian Princes* and *States* is ballanced. Moreover *France* ſhould make ſhew to the *Proteſtant Princes* and *States*, that although ſhe be of a *diverſe Religion* to theirs, yet ſhee would rather their *converſion*, then their *deſtruction*, aſſuring them that this ſhall not at all hinder her that ſhee contribute not of her owne to conſerve them, and to aide them freely againſt all thoſe that would trouble or change any thing in their STATES and *libertiés*.

Likewiſe as the ſecond

maxime

maxime of the Intereſt of *Spaine* is to advantage her deſigne through intelligences. The ſecond of the *intereſt* of *France* is, not to ſleep at all in hers. Nor to ſpare money in *ſpies* and *penſioners*, to the end to know what paſſeth amongſt her *neighbours*, and that as occaſion ſerves, ſhee ſtrengthen the weake, aſſure the fearfull, ſtop the engagement of thoſe that are moved to decline, retire thoſe that are already engaged, and that ſhe croſſe in all places, and by all means the *intelligences* of *ſpain*.

To the third *maxime*, which concerns *negociation*. It ought not to be ſuffered that *Spaine* meddle in any *Treatie*, but that

that *France* alſo ſtep between on her part. Eſpecially in *Italie*, where ſhe would be ſole Judge and *Vmpire*. That which ſhee will be, if *France* were not aſſured of one *port* to enter there, which ſhe ought to keepe, even ſo long as ſhe will oppoſe the others greatneſſe, and be conſidered as the bullwarke of the Chriſtian libertie. Moreover *flegmatick perſons* ought to be made choice of (for *to treate with Spaine*) and ſuch as have not any impatient humour, whereof the *French* nation is accuſed, to the end, to take away their hope of profiting by *delaies*, wherewith *Spaine* hath been accuſtom-

ed

ed to wearie all the world.

To the fourth Maxime. There ought to be opposed force to force. For neither perswasions, nor the *Justice* of armes will awe him that's armed. So as that France ought to cut off all unnecessary expences, and be alwayes powerfully armed, having sufficiently to doe the same, without borrowing elsewhere *souldiers*, *munition*, *and money*.

If so be that the above named *maximes* be well observed, the reputation of *Spaine*, (whereby shee doth so advantageously prevaile) will be abated: that of *France* elevated: and the other *Christian Princes*

Princes and *States* ſeeing ſuch a *counterpoiſe* to affaires, will againe take courage, and without apprehenſion of future danger, voluntarily embrace the cauſe of their conſervation.

* * *

OF

OF THE INTEREST OF THE PRINCES OF ITALIE.

ITALIE, which is environed with the *Alpes*, and the *Mediterranean sea*, (after the deluge of those *barbarous nations* that so long time afflicted it) seem-

ed as if ſhe ought to think of nothing more then to benefit her ſelfe by the oportunitie of her ſcituation, to keep herſelf *cloſe* and *ſecret*, being as well ſeparated by the *intereſt* of *Provinces*, as divided by her ſcituation. And truly it was then the *maxime* which ſhee ought to hold. For theſe *little Princes* might live peaceably under the ſhadow of the *greater*, when having amongſt themſelves their juſt counterpoiſe, they cannot attempt any thing upon their inferiors.

And the *principall Powers* ſharing amongſt themſelves the dominion of ſuch a Countrey, had reaſon to exclude their Neighbours from the Know-

Knowledge of their affaires.

But ſince that the *King* of *Spaine* hath ſet footing in *Italie*, and that finding himſelf *Maſter* of *both ends* thereof, he hath made the ballance incline on his own ſide, the true intereſt in generall of the *Italian Princes* hath been to keep ever one gate (at leaſt) open, to guard themſelves from the oppreſſion which ſuch a formidable *Power* might make them fear.

And although that for this effect they ought to hold intelligences with other *Princes*, it behooves them notwithſtanding, to doe it chiefly with the *King* of *France*, for three reaſons. *First*, for the neereneſſe,

and opportunitie of being able to ſuccour them, either by *ſea* or *land*. *Secondly*, for the great forces that this great *Realm* can ſet on foote. And *laſtly*, by this bridle to reſtraine the *Spainard*, who otherwiſe would carry himſelfe towards them with leſſe moderation.

The other *maxime* which *Italie* ought to obſerve is, to conſerve her ſelfe in *peace*. *First*, becauſe there can be no warre, but the kings of *France* and *Spaine* will *there* take part, either as favouring one of the parties, or elſe as *Arbitrators*. Beſides it ought to be conſidered, that warre cannot be enkindled in this Countrey, without

out great danger of ſtirring up divers humours, which doe now lie ſtill.

Theſe are the two points wherein lieth the *intereſt* of *Italie* in generall. And although that every *Prince* ought to have the ſame *aime*, there are notwithſtanding certaine *particular intereſts* in each State. The *Commonwealth* of *Venice* in regard of the extent of her dominion both by *ſea* and *land*, likewiſe of the firmnes of her eſtabliſhment for twelve *ages* entire, and of the prudent conduct of ſo wiſe a government, is without doubt the chief Power of *Italie* next that of the *King* of *Spaine*, And ſhe alſo hath been

the *first* *Common-wealth* that hath setled the rules of her conservation, and that hath most punctually observed them, in taking for her particular interest, that of *Italie* in generall. Moreover for particular respects *she* makes it a *maxime*, to hold a strait intelligence with the *Turke*, and for the same she spares not any cost. Shee beleeves also that her Interest is, to maintaine warre abroad, and *foment* the same with money. That which the other *Princes* of *Italie* ought also to doe, if they had strength and courage to undertake it.

She looseth no time for to hinder the *King* of *Spaine* and the

the *Pope* from waxing great. The *State* of *Venice* seems extraordinarily jealous of these two *Potentates*, though it be a *maxime* common to all *Princes* to hinder the growth of their Neighbors. As for the other *Princes* of *Italie*, she upholds them according to her own benefit.

The two principall of the Italian Princes.

1 To keepe one great Prince open to guard his selfe from the oppression of his potent neighbours and to have a special Jealousie ynce with France

2 To Confound C O F princes.

OF THE INTEREST OF THE SEA OF ROME.

THE *interest* of the *Sea* of *Rome* is, first to procure by all manner of means the diminution of the *greatnes* of *Spaine*, because the *Church-lands* lie so fit for her, that if once the King of *Spaine* come

to quit the ſpecious pretext that he hath taken to protect the *holy* Sea, certainly he will eaſily appropriate all this goodly demaine, for to joyne together the two *ends*, which already belong unto him.

The puiſſance of the *Venetians*, and of the *great Duke* doth much enfeeble that of the *Sea* of *Rome*, which without theſe obſtacles would command the two *Gulfes*. So ſhe ought to deſire that theſe two *Princes* remaine at leaſt as they be.

But all theſe are but generall *maximes*. There be yet three particulars of the *Sea* of *Rome*. The *firſt* is, to maintaine her credit throughout, by the means of *Eccleſiaſticall perſons*,

ſons, as the *ſinnews* of her greatneſſe, whom ſhe ought to *protect* againſt the *ſecular Powers*.

The *ſecond* is, to make *Princes* dread the thunderbolt of *Excommunications*, But not to uſe it too oft, for feare they come to contemn it.

The *third* is, to reſtraine the Popes, as much as may be, hindering them from making great their *houſes* at the *Churches* coſt, or committing any extravagance by their *paſſions*, prejudiciall to the common good of the *Eccleſiaſticall State*.

It would be to no purpoſe to touch the Intereſt of the other *Princes* of *Italie*, for that they are either ſo little

con-

conſiderable as they can doe nothing of themſelves: or elſe ſo *ſubjected*, as they dare not make ſhew of any other Intereſt, then that of *thoſe* on whom they depend.

OF

OF THE INTEREST OF THE DUKE OF SAVOY.

IT remaines only for conclusion, to speak of the *Duke* of *Savoy*. The *Estate* of this *Prince* is in such manner scituated, that to which side soever he turnes, he is of great importance to the partie he em-

embraceth. CHARLES EMANUEL (who was first willing to make knowne that a *Duke* of *Savoy* could make *peace* and *war* in *Italie*) beleeved, that the Interest of his *Estate* was, to side one while with *France*, another while with *Spaine*, according to the occurrences and good of his affaires, which was the sole *But* of his designes, without thinking of *Treaties* made either with the one or the other. But this *Prince*, ful of vast thoughts (and who could not bound his *ambition* by the barriers that Nature had set to his *Estate*) was glad that the scituation of his *Countrey* might serve for a pretext to his *disquiet*.

For

For indeed the true *interest* of the *Duke* of *Savoy* is, to have allwayes a good correspondence with *France*, because she can assist him with the whole masse of her forces, against *one member* of the power of *Spain*, who hath more jealousie of her *Estates* in *Italie*, then (to say in a manner) of all the rest together, having also a vehement desire to joyne *Piemont* to the *Dutchie* of *Millaine*. So as the *Duke* of *Savoy* should beleeve, that what amity soever he hath with *Spaine*, it is most dangerous to him. He ought nevertheless to entertaine it, in so much as it is needfull to guard him from *France*.

OF

OF THE INTEREST, OF GERMANIE.

THIS huge maſſe of *Provinces* joyning together, invironed with *three Seas*, and divided by ſo many mighty rivers, hath been heretofore the terror of the *Romane Empire*, which at length ſhe hath tranſported to her ſelf. And as *before*, ſhe had no

no other interest but her *liberte*; so *since*, she hath no other designe but to conserve the same. For truely if the name of *Empire* hath brought splendor and reputation to *Germanie*, it hath given her in recompence much jealousie and distrust. She presently discovered her *Emperours*, and assayed to limit their power for feare that from Chiefs of this Countrey, they come to be Masters thereof. Dominion being such a dainty morsell, that the most temperate cannot forbeare it. This notwithstanding, by the continuance of certaine successions, the *Empire* being established in the house of *Austria* (that of *Spaine*, which is the

the principall branch thereof) knew to manage this beginning of eſtabliſhment with ſuch dexteritie, that now it ſeems as hereditary in that *houſe*. The maxime of *Germanie* was to hinder the progreſſe of this uſurpation. And now her intereſt is, to reduce things to their former eſtate, by diſtributing this honor interchangeably to the principal houſes, and reſtraining the power of the Emperors, whoſe *counſell* ought to be the *general Diets*, to conſult altogether of the means to conſerve the common libertie, and to reſiſt the *Turke*, who is the only force that *Germanie* ſhould be afraid of.

The

The diverſitie of *Religion* ought not to cauſe any diverſitie of opinion in things that concerne the common good. The *intereſt* of all the *Princes* in generall, and of every one of them in particular is, mutually to defend, and jointly to hinder that the *Emperor* make not an attempt upon the libertie of any, under what pretext ſoever it be. They ſhould likewiſe take heed that the *ſtronger* amongſt them oppreſſe not the weaker, whereto the *Emperor* will alwayes lend a hand, for to gain, by the ruine, both of the one and the other.

The *Catholik Princes* ought from henceforth to diſabuſe themſelves, and to hold for certain,

tain, that under the colour of Religion, they ſerve the deſigne of the houſe of *Auſtria*, and forge by little and little the irons of their own bondage, being not able to hope for any other advantage then to be the *laſt* ruined.

The *Proteſtants* (ſince they alone cannot withſtand ſo great forces) ſhould make it a *maxime*, to be firſt well united at home, and afterwards to hold neceſſary intelligences abroad, for to counterpoiſe the *Catholik* league. Their chiefeſt aime ſhould be, to abide ſtreightly conjoyned together, and to beleeve, that their aſſured ruine lieth in their *diſunion*.

All

All the advantages propo-ſed unto them for to *diſunite* them one from another, ought to be the bands of their con-cord and good intelligence.

This is the true *intereſt* of the *Princes* of *Germanie* and of the *Imperiall towns*, which they never ought to relin-quiſh, For without this ſup-port, they will become the prey of the firſt *Uſurper*, and their great *magazines*, and ſtately *Arcenalls* will ſerve for a lure to intice thoſe that are *Maſters* of the field.

There are *foure* Kingdomes which depend in a manner up-on *Germanie* and are obliged to follow the fortune of this Countrey.

Po-

Poland and *Hungarie* for divers interests remaine tyed to the house of *Austria*.

Denmarke and *Swedeland* embrace the partie that maintaines the libertie of *Germanie*, fearing their owne may be in danger, after this comes to be oppressed.

It is requisite that *Germanie* remaine strictly united with both these Realmes, but the latter shee can never forsake, without an eternall blot of ingratitude, having received from thence even that which was beyond her hopes, seeing her selfe already swallowed in the very gulfe of so hard a bondage, when this KING (shewed only

ly to the world through ſo many darke clowdes) made the Sunne of her deliverance appeare to this deſolate Countrey.

***

OF

OF THE INTEREST OF THE SWISSES, AND of the *United Provinces* of the *Low-Countries*.

ON the two sides of *Germany*, at the entery of this large Countrey, there are formed two Common-wealths, dreadfull amongst the other powers

of *Christendome*, both for the valour of their people, and for the form of their scituation. So that very rightly one may call them the two armes of *Germany*.

The right arme is *Switzerland*, the left is the *United State* of the *Low Countries*. The one is amongst the rocks and precipices; the other amongst the Seas and marshes. The one domineers in the *Alpes*: and the other in the *Ocean*. The naturall disposition of both these people is so agreeable to the nature of the Countries which they inhabit, as that the *Swisses* seeme made for the Mountaines, and the Mountaines for the *Swisses*. The Sea

for

for the *Hollanders*: and the *Hollanders* for the Sea. In *Swisserland* every Canton, in the *Low-Countries* every Province is a Common-welth. The *Swisses* sell the libertie of their bodies to others, and doe guard the liberty of their country: the *Hollanders* guard their owne libertie intire. Long *Peace* hath enriched those: but these flourish by the continuation of *Warre*. The interest of the *Swisses* is *Peace*: but the *Hollanders* should hold for an assured maxime, to be alwayes in *Armes*.

These two *Republikes* cannot make better alliance for their subsistence then with *France*, who (to oppose

Spaine) doth enrich the *Swisses* with her mony, and supports the *Hollanders* with her Counsell and Armes.

These two Powers should never be divided betwixt themselves, either through *jealousie* or *Religion*, since these are the sole maladies that may extinguish them.

***

O F

OF THE INTEREST OF ENGLAND.

ENGLAND which is as a little world apart, had not any thing to doe with other *Princes*, but only ſo far as the neceſſity of commerce did oblige her, which was then her true intereſt. For thereby ſhe gained great riches, which

together with her ſcituation, have made her of very great account. But ſince that under the ſhadow of that miſterious marriage between PHILIP and MARY, the *practiſes* of *Spaine* are inſenſibly ſlipped in, *England* (which before had *maximes* conformable to her own ſelfe) is by little and little accommodated ſometimes to the intereſt of *France*, and ſometimes to the intereſt of *Spaine*.

Queene ELIZABETH (who by her prudent government hath equall'd the greateſt *Kings* of *Chriſtendome*) ſhe knowing well the diſpoſition of her *State*, beleeved that the true intereſt thereof conſiſted,

Firſt

First in holding a firme union in it selfe, atchieving to smother the reliques of precedent factions, deeming (as it is most true) that *England is a mighty Animal, which can never dye except it kill it selfe.*

Shee grounded this fundamentall maxime, *to banish thence the exercise of the Romane Religion*, as the onely means to breake all the plots of the *Spaniards*, who under this pretext, did there foment Rebellion. And although shee professed her self very much obliged to *Philip*, towards whom shee bare ever a speciall regard, nevertheleſſe she had so carefull a consideration of the interest of her

State, that ſhe beleeved it was never fit to conclude a peace with him, for three very evident reaſons. The *firſt* was, for to weaken the power that ſhee ſuſpected in the *Indies*: The *ſecond*, for to enrich her Realme by depredations: The *third*, thereby to make her Subjects warlike, and keep them in perpetuall exerciſe for *Sea-fight*, which is the *defence* of the kingdome.

She beleeved that the intereſt of her *Eſtate* was, to aide *France*, and releeve it, leaſt that by the fall thereof ſhe ſuffer thoſe to waxe great, from whom ſhe had cauſe to defend, her ſelf.

By the ſame *maxime*, *Shee* ſup-

ſupported the ſpringing libertie of the *United Provinces*, whoſe protection againſt the puiſſance of *Spaine*, is one of the principall points of *Englands intereſt*, as well becauſe ſhee thereby weakens a too powerfull Neighbor: as for that *Protection* ſerves ſometimes for a ſtep to reach ſome higher matter.

Shee held moſt ſtrait intelligences with the *Proteſtants* of *France*, for reaſons altogether peculiar to *England*.

Shee did the ſame (though for other reſpects) with the *Proteſtants* of *Germanie*.

By all theſe maximes *this wiſe Princeſſe* hath very well made knowne to her *Succeſ-*

sors, that besides the *Interest* which the *King* of *England* hath common with all *Princes*, hee hath yet *one particular*, which is, that *He ought throughly to acquire the advancement of the Protestant Religion, even with as much zeale as the King of Spaine appeares Prrtectour of the Catholick.*

For this effect, *England* should have intelligences throughout, wheresoever it is fitting, and take part in all the Treaties that are made with *Protestant* PRINCES. Shee should likewise bee *alwayes armed* to become thereby considerable.

Here

Here is the true Intereſt of *England*, which being well followed, will eſtabliſh a third *Puiſſance* in Chriſtendome.

* * *

THE

THE SECOND PART OF THE INTEREST OF THE PRINCES AND STATES OF Christendome.

LONDON:
Printed by *Ric. Hodgkinsonne.* 1641.

THE PREFACE.

AFter the ſtabliſhing of the true Intereſt *of each* PRINCE *and* State, *it ought to be made appeare by the recitall of the principall offaires agitated in* Chriſtendome *for the ſpace of* fiftie *yeeres paſt,*

how

how the ill ſucceſſes that have happened therein, proceeded not from any other cauſe, then the neglecting of the ſaid intereſt. *For to teach us that* in matter of State, *one ought not to ſuffer himſelf to be led by* inordinate *deſires*, *which carry us oftentimes to undertake things beyond our ſtrength* : *nor by* violent paſſions *which doe diverſly trouble us*, *according as we are poſſeſſed therewith* : *nor by* ſuperſtitious opinions,

where-

whereby ill-conceived ſcruples *are miniſtred unto us, but rather by our proper intereſt guided by reaſon alone, which ought to be the rule of our actions, to the end that by ſuch examples, we ſeeing (as in a mirrour) the faults of others, may thereby benefit our ſelves.*

THE

THE FIRST DISCOURSE UPON THE AFFAIRE OF the League.

UNder the Raigns of FRANCIS the ſecond, and CHARLES the Ninth, *France* was exceedingly moleſted with civill warres, the *youth* of theſe two *Princes* was the prin-

principall cauſe thereof. Each would have the managing of affaires. A conteſtation was betwixt Queene CATHERINE their mother, and the *Princes* of the blood, and under them, the houſes which had moſt power, were thoſe of *Guiſe* and *Montmorancy*, which had quietly ruled *Henry* the *ſecond* their Father. FRANCIS of *Lorraine* Duke of *Guiſe* bore the partie of CATHERINE. ANNAS Duke of *Mountmorancy* tooke part with the *Princes* of the blood. Likewiſe there was amongſt them difference of Religion. The warres about Religion were great and bloody, and laſted even to the

the death of CHARLES the Ninth, and his brother HENRY the Third succeeded him. He was of age capable to govern, he had goodly qualities, and gave hopes of a happy Reigne.

At his comming to the Crowne HENRY testified a desire to lead a peaceable life, but it was rather to plunge himself in idlenesse and pleasures, then to Reigne well.

HENRY Duke of *Guise* (sonne of FRANCES) a Prince endowed with great qualities, and full of loftie thoughts, seeing the *King* and his *Brother* without children, and the first Princes of the blood, to make profession of the

the *Protestant* Religion, is bold to aspire unto the *Royaltie*, and to get thither, makes himself Protector of the *Catholikes*, and the Persecutor of the *Protestants*, against whom hee stirred up divers warres.

HENRY of *Burbon*, King of *Navarre*, first Prince of the blood, Chief of the *Protestant* partie, and a Prince adorned with an Heroïque vertue, successfully waged divers warres in favour of the *Protestants*.

Here be *three* HENRIES, Chiefs of three severall parties in *France*, who have every one their interest. The *King to* maintain his lawfull authority. The *Duke* of *Guise* to possesse the Kings place, and the King of

of *Navarre* to hinder the King of *France* his ruine, which was indeed his owne, and of his partie which made him subsist in reputation. The first of these through weaknesse lets himself be induced to make war upon the *King* of *Navarre*. The second makes himself Head of the *Catholick* partie. The third becomes Protector of the *Protestants*. So that as *hee* who ought to have commanded others, is very happy to have place only in the partie of the Duke of *Guise*, who therein came so far with him; that when he was killed in the yeere 1588. he was upon the point to make him be declared to the States of the

Realme,

Realme, incapable to reigne, and the Princes of the blood to succeed him.

PHILIP King of *Spaine*, who had alwayes an eye open to his great designe, foments this businesse, favors the Duke of *Guise* at *Rome*, helps him with money in *France*, lets him not want for any thing, and even after his death, continues his assistance to his Brother CHARLES Duke of *Mayne*.

The *King* seeing himselfe abandoned of all the great Townes of his Realme, and of the most part of his Nobilitie, casts himself into the armes of the King of *Navarre*, who by his assistance retireth him almost

moſt from the hands of his enemies, which held him beſieged within *Tours*, he brings him as triumphant, before his Capitall Citie of *Paris*, where by the ſtab of a knife he dyed, and left the Kingdome to the K. of *Navar*, in the yeer 1589.

This *Prince* ſeeing himſelf elevated to ſo high a dignitie, was invited by the change of his condition to make change of his intereſt, & quitting that which hee had held even till then, hee embraced that of *France*. He had great oppoſitions cauſed by *Philip*, as well by his practiſes at *Rome*, as by his aſſiſtance to the *League* of *France*, alwayes under pretext of his great zeale for the Ca-

tholike Religion. During the time that HENRY is a Proteſtant, *Philip* maintains that he cannot reigne, cauſeth him to be excommunicated, his Subjects to be diſpenſed from the oath of allegeance, ſetteth his kingdom in prey, that by this means hee might get it as eaſily as *Ferdinand* got the Kingdome of *Navarre* from his Predeceſſor. When he gives hope to turn Catholick, *Philip* declareth that he is an Hypocrite, and that having been relapſed, hee can never lawfully reigne, he aideth his enemies with money and armes ſufficient to weaken both parties, but not to ruine the one in ſuch ſort, that the other might ſub-

ſiſt

ſiſt without him, willing to wearie them whom hee maintained, to the end that they ſhould be conſtrained to give themſelves up to him.

HENRY on his part ſhews unto Queene ELIZABETH, and the *United Provinces*, with the Proteſtants of *Germanie* and the *Swiſſes*, what Intereſt they had all in the cauſe. He received great aſſiſtance from them all, and even ſecretly from FERDINAND, great Duke of *Tuſcanie*, a Prince of great underſtanding, and who judged that the acquiſition of *France* to the King of *Spaine*, was to ſubject all the other Princes. But the Republike of *Venice*

onely amongst all the *Catholike States*, did without delay acknowledge him King of *France*, after the death of his Predecessor. So well as with all these aides, and his own valour, he resisted in the very beginning, and afterwards having obtained divers victories, and his affaires beginning to prosper, he was considered as a great Prince.

From thence forward, the *People* wearie of their miseries, began well to advise themselves, and to give no more such credence as they had done, to their *Preachers*: the *Nobilitie* to think upon the side that prospered: the *Governors* of Towns to assure their

affaires

affaires with the *ſtrongeſt*; and the Principalls of the *partie* to conſerve what dignitie ſoever they had been raiſed unto. All theſe commotions cauſed *Leaguers* to aſſemble the States.

PHILIP takes occaſion from ſuch an extremity, for to perſwade them, that the only remedy to reeſtabliſh their affaires was, to chooſe a King, and offers his daughter to him whom they choſe. *This* was the apple of diſcord. The Duke of *Mayne*, principal Commander, could not pretend to have her, he being already married; nor would ſuffer that another ſhould, leſt himſelf from being *Maſter*, ſhould become a *Servant*. His Nephew the

Duke of *Guise* was inticed with this daintie bit. The Duke of *Nemours* his unkle had as good an appetite as he. The Duke of *Mercueur* pretended the Dutchie of *Britanie* to belong to him by his Wife. The eldest sonne of the Duke of *Lorraine*, as head of the familie, was also mentioned. So that PHILIP thought by this discord to draw them to make choice of *him*. While these things were a doing, HENRY turnes *Catholick*. This change made some of the principall Townes and Governors to declare themselves on his party, and the other began to treate in the Court of *Rome*. *Philip* neglects nothing

(on

(no more then the chiefeſt *leaguers*)for to impeach that *Henry* be not acknowledged a *good Catholick*, and a long time hindered his Ambaſſadour from having Audience.

At the length *Clem.* 8. (then *Pope*)ſeeing well that he was eſtabliſhing himſelf without him, reſolved to grant that which he could not hinder, and to acknowledge him for *King*, it being *a maxime* of *Rome*, *to governe according to events*, to the end that ſhe looſe not that reverence and reſpect, which Shee endeavors throughly to preſerve, and without which her authoritie would be but a ſmall matter.

PHILIP fallen from ſuch

an hope, continues his assistance nevertheleſſe to the residue of the *Leaguers*. Beſides hee inciteth EMANUEL Duke of *Savoy* (at that time his ſonne-in-law) to ſet upon *Provence*, thereby to divert him from the purſuite of his claime to the *Dutchie* of *Millaine*, in right of his wifes dowrie. *Henry* ſeeing this obſtinacie, declares himſelf openly, and denounceth warre againſt PHILIP. The ſucceſſe thereof was various, and yet after the recoverie of *Amiens* by HENRY, PHILIP ſeeing himſelfe very neere his grave, his *Sonne* yong, and *Henry* in the vigour of his age, he reſolved on a peace, which

was

was concluded at *Vervins*, the yeere 1597. wherein he restoreth all that he held of *France*, and then died.

It behoveth now to consider the *interest* of the *Princes* inveloped in this *affaire*, what faults they therein committed, and what were the events thereof.

HENRY the Third, whose interest consisted, in not suffering divers factions in his Kingdome, in preserving the Princes of the blood since he had no children of his owne, and in keeping under those which lifted up themselves to the prejudice of his *Royall authoritie*, yet he did quite contrarie. For he fomented the

ſaid factions in ſtead of extinguiſhing them, and even joyned with the one to deſtroy the other. He made continuall warre upon the Princes of the blood, at the perſwaſion of thoſe who deſired to ſee their ruine for to raiſe themſelves in their places, and he authorized in the command of his armies, thoſe that aſpired to the uſurpation of his Kingdome. He did yet worſe, for when he began to perceive their plot, he would prevent it by a remedie, which wrought his owne deſtruction, to wit, by caſting himſelf into an affected and unuſuall devotion, not ſtirring from the Cloiſters of *Monkes*, thinking by this

meanes

meanes to take from the Duke of *Guise* the credit that he had gotten amongst the *Catholikes*, who held him for their Chief. But there arrived the contrarie, for he became contemptible to his people, who chased him from his capitall citie of *Paris*, and all the great townes of his Kingdome revolted from him, they also reduced him to such a pittiful case, that in the end, a *Monke* had the boldnesse to kill him, which was the fruit of his negligence and ill conduct.

HENRY Duke of *Guise* succeeding a *Father* and an *Uncle*, both great personages, and who had had in the precedent Reignes great part in the com-

command of Armies, in the conduct of affaires, and he thinking himself no whit inferior to them neither in courage nor in vertue, conceives the most haughtie designe that a man (borne the *Subject* of a *Prince*) could undertake, that is, to usurpe the place of his *Soveraigne*. The occasion seems most favourable to him. He hath already this advantage of gaining by the labour of his *Father*, it being a thing most difficult, that the life of one man alone should be able to worke such a change. Hee incountereth a *King* without children, and of the humour of those, under whom such projects might be attempted.

He

He findeth a *Kingdome* rent by factions, and assaulted with *the most dangerous of all Civill warres, which was for the difference of Religion.* He sees the first Princes of the blood in the weakest faction, the *King* of *Spaine* readie to assist all those that trouble *France*, and the *Popes* interessed every way to persecute the *Protestants.* The matter standing thus, he (full of hopes) neglecteth nothing to accomplish his designe. He was *a goodly man, gracefull, courteous, liberall,* and *valiant.* He imployes all these gifts of nature to insinuate himselfe amongst the *Nobilitie*, *Gentrie* and *Commonaltie.* He shewes himself very zealous of the Catho-

Catholick Religion, not by hauntiug the *Cloisters*, and walking through the streets in Procession: but by persecuting the Protestants, and declaring himself their mortall Enemie. Hee maintains his intelligences at *Rome*, and in *Spaine* alwayes under the pretence of Religion. He works the *Preachers* to set him in veneration amongst the *People*, and to make the King be declared a favorer of hereticks, hypocritical, vicious, and idle. So as by such means he had elevated his designe even to the last step, when upon the very point of execution, hee was grossely wanting, both to his interest, and to his owne

self,

ſelf, which was in this, that after having chaſed his *King* from his chiefe Citie, levied armes againſt him, made publike declarations thereof, and then made peace with him, as with his equall, yet even then he intruſted his life to him, when hee would have made him be depoſed: his buſineſſe being not of that ſort, as it might be permitted to faile twice.

HENRY the Fourth had two parts to act. For whileſt he was only *King* of *Navarre*, firſt Prince of the blood, and Protector of the Proteſtants of *France*, his intereſt was, to imploy all his induſtrie and credit, both within and without

out the Kingdome, to defend the ſaid Proteſtants, to the end that they might defend him. For which purpoſe, hee did what he could to hinder the *Duke* of *Guiſe* from ſeiſing the Crowne, whereunto he had intereſt as *preſumptive* heire thereof, and to make himſelf known to HENRY the third, not onely in qualitie of Chief of the Proteſtants, but alſo as firſt Prince of the blood, to whom the intereſt of preſerving the Kings Perſon and eſtate, was as deere to him as himſelf, to the end that at his need he ſhould make no ſcruple to have recourſe unto him. Which ſucceeded ſo well with him, that after the

Duke

Duke of *Guise* his death, and the revolt of his Kingdome, he had not a more assured refuge then to put himself into his hands.

When hee was King of *France*, there behooved a great dexteritie to demeane himselfe discreetly both towards the *Catholicks*, and the *Protestants*, incensed one against the other by so long and bloody Civill warres. *These* gloried in having a King of their Religion: but *those* could not endure the same, and threatned to abandon him, if he did not turne to theirs. His businesse now was, to preserve his *old* friends, and not to loose the new. He promiseth the one not to refuse in-

instruction : and continues with the other, in the exercise of his *Religion*. In the meane while, hee serves his owne turne of both together, to fight against his enemies. In the tediousnesse of these warres, every man was wearied, Many of the *Leaguers* like not a *Spanish* King, but yet they would not have a *Protestant* King. The *Catholicks* that served HENRY, growing impatient to see him continue in *this* Religion, presse him to embrace theirs, and come so far as to make a third part against him.

These considerations made him resolve at length to turn his *Religion*. And by this meanes

meanes he kept the *Catholicks* that followed him, thereby alſo he gained new ones from the partie of the *Leaguers*, and he loſt not the *Proteſtants*, who hee well knew could never be taken in the number of his enemies, without deſtroying the pretext of *Religion*, which alone maintained them. So as that this Prince complying with the time, knew how to take his advantages ſo fitly, that he had good ſucceſſe in his affaires.

PHILIP, who had a deſigne to the *Chriſtian Monarchie*, and imagining that the maine obſtacle which he ſhould therein meet with, was the puiſſance of *France*, he embraces

braces the occaſion offered unto him for to ruine the ſame. He aptly ſerves his purpoſe by the ill government of the *King*, and by the ambition of the *Duke* of *Guiſe*. He inciteth the *firſt* to expell the *Proteſtants* out of his kingdome by which way ſoever, giveth him his own example, offereth him his aſſiſtance, publiſheth his great zeale at *Rome*, exhorts the *Pope* to joyne with him in ſuch a purſuite: On the other ſide, he underhand exciteth the *ſecond* to continue courageouſly his deſigne, aſſiſts him with money and Counſell. And by ſuch devices he makes himſelfe eſteemed in *France*, as the chiefeſt prop of their

their Religion. He makes a division betwixt the King and the *Protestants* of *Europe*, he authoriseth the Duke of *Guise* amongst the *Catholicks* of *France*, he incenseth the people against the *Princes* of the blood, and removeth (so much as he can) the children of the *Family* from the government of the *Realme*, for to introduce *Strangers* there. No other consideration diverteth him from his profound designe, hee holds *that* alwayes covered under the vaile of *Pietie*, and of his great zeale to the *Catholike Religion*. Hee travells there, step by step, without being impatient through the length of the way,

way, or precipitated through any accident. After the Duke of *Guise* his death, in stead of leaving off the worke, he became more resolute. He assists his Brother, and the whol partie so much the more vigorously, as hee beleeved there was more need; and even thought assuredly, that it would be more easie for him now to make an advantageous gaine thereby, then in the life time of the said Duke. Because that the whole faction having more need of him, he could more easily reduce them to his own will. Insomuch as he advanced the busineſſe so forward, that the *Kingdome* of *France* escaped not his hands, but

but by miracle. And if he had been content only to dissipate it, in stead of getting it intirely, hee had therein obtained his ends. And this is the only fault that he committed against his interest in this Affaire. For had hee considered the affection this *Nation* bears towards her *Kings*, the detestation she hath of the *Spanish* dominion, besides her naturall ficklenesse, as also the reputation of the *clemencie* of HENRY the Fourth, hee would not have been so obstinate as to go about to surmount things impossible, and would have contented himself to part the Realme among severall persons. And afterwards

wards upon the differences that are wont to happen between *usurpers*, it would have been farre more easie for him to get by peece-meale, what he would have carried all at once. Howsoever it would have been a gaine great enough to him, to *divide* this mightie *Kingdome*, the which being *United*, doth every where impeach the amplification of *Spaine*.

THE

THE SECOND DISCOURSE UPON THE WARRE OF SAVOY.

IT ſeemed that the Peace of *Vervins* had reſtabliſhed a ſolid tranquilitie to *Chriſtendom*, and that theſe two mighty Po-

wers of *France* and *Spaine* wearied in troubling each o-ther, had been glad to taste of rest. But as it is ordinary, that in all accords which are made between *Princes*, and *Soveraigne States*, there men leave undecided the *claimes* about which they cannot agree: So likewise in this Peace, the restitution of the Marquisate of *Saluces* was remitted to another season, in such wise as *Henry*, after having imployed some few yeers to settle again the affaires of his Realme in good order, hee resolved to question the Duke of *Savoy*, for the invasion of the said Marquisate, insomuch as hee made him plainly understand that

that he would have it restored. This peece (although little) is of very great importance. It is the Port of *Italie* whereby the *French* might passe, either to assault, or succour it. Those that feared their power, had reason to withstand the designe of HENRY, but those that feared any other, favoured *him*. So the interests of *Italie* were divided. *Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy* (as the most interessed of all in the businesse) uses all means to divert this Tempest. He solliciteth the King of *Spaine* not to forsake him, and gaineth the *Popes* Nephew, Cardinall *Aldobrandin*, to procure the *Popes* favour. But being exceedingly confi-

dent of his dexterity & adresse, he resolved to goe into *France*, to the end that under the pretence of treating this affaire, he might gaine some of the principall Ministers of *Henry*, and raise a broile within the Kingdome, herein he was at great cost, and used such sleights, that he failed but very little of his purpose. Nevertheless being too confident of a thing uncertaine, and having too much neglected the means of his true assurance, he became so surprised, that within three Moneths he was dispoiled of all *Bresse* and *Savoy*. This rude beginning awaked him. He continues his practises in *France*, he hasteth the succour

of *Spaine*, and ſeeks the interceſſion of the *Pope*, who to this effect ſendeth the Cardinall *Aldobrandin* towards *Henry* for to treate the ſame. In the mean while every one armeth, ſome to aſſault *Piemont*, others to defend it; but the mediation of the Peace was the ſtrongeſt. For it was concluded in the yeere 1600. wherein *Savoy* was rendered to the Duke, and *Breſſe* remained to *Henry* for exchange of the Marquisdome of *Saluces*.

That which made *Henry* commit this errour againſt his intereſt, was the deſire he had to taſte of repoſe, it being a thing certain that a man ordinarily flatters himſelfe in that

whereunto his fancie carries him. This Prince naturally loved his pleasures, and the necessitie of his affaires alwayes ingaged him to labor; So as now seeing himself at peace in his Realm, and beleeving he had done enough for his honor, he chose rather to take a recompence for the said Marquisate, then to imbarke himself in a long warre.

This peace touched *Ferdinand*, great Duke of *Tuscanie*, so much to the heart (for the prejudice that it brought to the libertie of the Princes of *Italie*) that he offered to break it, by the meanes of 200000. crownes, wherewith hee, and the States of *Venice* should furnish

nlſh the Cardinall *Aldobrandin.* But *Henry* would not hearken to it.

In this affaire, and the ſequell thereof, there are two things remarkable. *Viz.* The loſſe which *France* hath ſuſtained by leaving the Marquiſate of *Saluces*: and the advantage that one gets by gaining the Nephews of the *Pope.* By the *firſt*, the *French-man* hath loſt all credit in the affaires of *Italie*, and the *Spaniard* remaines *Maſter* there, having no more to contradict him. And by the *ſecond*, as it is a thing well knowne that the approbation of the Pope (on the Catholick partie) is of great conſequence. So likewiſe it is certain, that

to acquire the ſame, the one muſt gaine *his* Nephews, who cannot be won but by readie and reall benefits. For, the eſtabliſhment of their houſe being founded upon the life of their *Vnkle*, who is commonly old, they will not waſte the time in vaine. So as he that doth moſt readily gratifie them, carries them on his ſide.

Whence I conclude, that the true intereſt of the *Spaniard* is, to hinder the entrance of the *French* into *Italie*, to the end that he have not there any oppoſition.

The true intereſt of the *French-man* is to have *there* one Port open, thereby to maintaine his reputation, and to

to ſhare in the affaires, with the *Spaniard*.

And the true intereſt of the *Italians* is, throughly to expell all ſtrangers out of *Italie*, but not being able to do the ſame, their Intereſt is, to conſerve their libertie by the counterpoiſe of theſe two Powers of *France* and *Spaine*.

THE THIRD DISCOURSE UPON THE DIFFERENCE *that happened betweeen Pope* Paul *V. and the Republike of* Venice, *the yeer* 1605.

Ince the *See* of *Rome* seems elevated to that high point of Majestie, wherein we behold it at this present;

It

It is certain that it had designs proportioned to its greatnesse, which have appeared sometimes more, sometimes lesse, according to the Nature of those who enjoyed the *Popedome*. For those *Popes* that were endued with sufficient wisedome to sustaine the weight of such a greatnesse, have alwayes much indeavored to make some progression for to approach this marke. But nevertheleſſe they have so cunningly dissembled their enterprise, that from thence there is not arrived any scandall unto *Christendome*, nor any dishonour to the *Church*: Some others thrust on by an inconsiderate zeal, or inflamed with

with a desire to get themselves a name to posterity, or else hurried by the violence of their passions, are come so far therein as to discover this mystery of the *Romane Hierarchy*, which by all reason of prudence and wise government should not have beene revealed, till after it were accomplish'd.

Of the number of these last was Pope *Paul IV.* who even from the beginning of his *Papacy*, blaming the moderation of his predecessors, resolved himselfe to take a contrary course, and to doe that (during his life, and out of season) which could not be brought to an end in many

ages

ages, nor by a long succession of favorable occasions.

But for as much as our intentions remaine liveleſſe, when they have an object whereunto they cannot attaine. *Paul* considering that he should not have to deale with *Kings* ſo eaſily as with *Common-wealths* (which being governed as by private perſons, ſeem to have leſſe power, becauſe they have leſſe luſter) he determined for this effect to begin by them. He quarelled firſt of all at thoſe of *Luca* and *Genoa*, and made them obey, either by triumphing upon their weakneſſe, or by intereſſing himſelfe in the differences of particular perſons,

sons, who had received, or hoped to receive some advancement by the Court of *Rome*. But not being content with this, he would set upon the *Republike* of *Venice*, concerning whom the Sea of *Rome* makes shew, not to have had (for certaine time) the satisfaction from thence, which she did expect, for two principall reasons. The first because she excluded all Ecclesiaticall persons from the participation of her government: The second because she gave not any pension to the Court of *Rome*.

The *Pope* was diligent to finde a plausible ground to make the *common-wealth* feele

the

the effects of his indignation, when in the yeare 1605. There was presented such an occasion as he desired.

An *Abbot*, and a *Canon* (after many scandals committed) were accused of hainous crimes, and brought to *Venice*, where they were imprisoned.

Much about the same time there, the *Republike* renewed two ancient Lawes, for to make the same observed in all places of her dominion. *The one forbidding that any secular goods should be alienated to Ecclesiasticall persons: The other, wherby it was prohibited to build any Church without the permission of the Senate.*

Paul

Paul became offended therat, and ſaid: *he might not endure that Eccleſiaſticall men ſhould be judged by ſecular Authority, for any crime whatſoever, and that it belonged to him alone to condemn, or abſolve them, according as it ſhould ſeeme good unto him.* As for the two Lawes, he ſaid: *they could not ſubſiſt, being contrary to the Councels and Imperiall Conſtitutions.*

The *Venetians* after mature deliberation upon the matter (having weighed on the one ſide the indignation of the Pope, and on the other ſide the Common liberty) anſwered; *That they might not deliver the Church-men juſtly impriſoned*

priſoned: nor aboliſh the Laws juſtly eſtabliſhed, without prejudice to the liberty which God had given them, and which they had maintained for ſo many ages by the blood of their Predeceſſors. That their State having proſpered by ſuch Lawes, they thought they could not change them without incurring an everlaſting brand of infamy to all poſterity.

The *Pope* growes more and more obſtinate, and takes a firme reſolution to make them obey. The *Venetians* endeavour by all manner of meanes to order the matter hanſomely. They alleadge their reaſons with more then ordinary ſubmiſſions, they ſent an extraor-

traordinary Embaſſadour to *Rome*, that by this demonſtration of a reverent regard, they might take from the *Pope* the opinion (which he had conceived) that he was neglected, and alſo thereby give him a faire pretext to retire himſelfe from the precipice where he lay. They receive the *Pope's* Briefes (which were ſo many thunder-ſtroaks againſt them) with all honor and reſpect. They humbly ſhew the deſire they had to content the *Pope* if it were poſſible without doing wrong to the common intereſt of all Princes, and to the fundamentall lawes of their government, which binds them to take notice

tice of the buildings that are erected within their Townes, to the end that from thence arive nothing dammageable to the publike good. As for the alienation of *Church-goods*, they cannot permit the ſame without wholly ruining the forces of their State.

As for the impunity of Eccleſiaſticall perſons, they ſay: That in permitting the ſame, they ſhould not only derogate from their Soveraignty, and the power they hold immediately from God, but alſo introduce in the State examples of dangerous conſequence.

The *Pope* anſwers: That he regards not their Lawes whe-

whether old or new: and that it appertained to him, to change them at his pleasure. That he would not allow any treating of the businesse, but an absolute obedience.

In the meane while, he goes about to nullifie the election of the Duke of *Venice*, because it had been made since the beginning of this *difference*, And whilest that he proceeds in this sort, the *Duke* of *Venice* gives him part of his Election, with the accustomed *reverence*.

The *Venetians* (to make known the Justice of their cause) doe consult this affaire by persons well versed in such mat-

maters, and therein they demand the advice of the most famous Doctors of *Europe*: They punctually relate the *Controversie* to all the *Kings* and *Princes* their allies; And to the end that their right might appeare even to posterity, they deliver their answer to the *Pope*, because that if the difference were reconciled, all the world might know that they were justified. The same is to be noted, that they never called home their Ambassador, before the *Pope* had retired his Nuntio. For although the Extraordinary went back to testifie some ressentment after the receiving of so many distastes: the Ordinary

dinary never the lesse continued there, to shew that they they had alwayes an eare open to agreement. Lastly when they could no longer hold from breaking off, they take a resolution to defend their liberty, with such an unanimous consent, that in thewhol *Senate* there was not one voice contrary. Thereby frustrating the hopes which the *Pope* had of disuniting them, according as the *Jesuites* had promised him.

The *Pope* took a clean contrary byas, for (men believed) he cared not a jot whether he went upon good, or ill grounds. He imparted not this businesse to other Princes till

till very late, neither did he demand the advise even of the Cardinals, but for fashions sake.

Here is that which passed before the breach betwixt the *Pope* and the *Venetians*, wherein the *Venetians* exactly followed that which belonged to their interest. For their *State* being founded rather by Peace, then by War, and being more considerable for Counsell then for Armes, they ought ever dexterously to avoid any rupture whatsoever.

During the time of the breach, the *Venetians* surmounted even their own selves, having given in this affaire a perpetuall example of perfect conduct,

duct, ſhewing as much conſtancy and courage in their reſentment of the injury which they pretended was done them: as before they had ſhewed ſubmiſſion to prevent the ſame. They ever anſwered thoſe who ſpake to them of agreement: *That the remedie ought to be applied to the part whence the diſeaſe proceeded: That the Pope had received a voluntary diſpleaſure, the remedy whereof was a voluntary repentance.* This notwithſtanding, they rejected not any propoſition, but much inſiſted upon this point: *That they had done only what they ought: That the Pope in withdrawing his Nuntio had barred the way to agree-*

ment: That it belonged to him to make good againe, what he himselfe had spoyled: And that when he shall have taken off his pretended censures, they will not seem estranged from Peace. But that which had been most remarkable here, was, that they were not a whit moved for all this tempest, providing with so much prudence (both within and without their State) all that was necessary to sustaine such a shock, that no alteration at all was perceived. The people remained in obedience: the Towns of their Dominion offered their means and forces: the *Religious* obeyed without constraint: there was not shed one drop of bloud.

The

The *Pope*, in ſtead of ſhewing conſtancy in his reſolution, began to relent ſo ſoon as he had wrought his indignation by the interdict, leaving to be underſtood under-hand, that he would lend an eare to agreement, provided that he might ſave his credit. But when he ſaw the inflexible ſtedfaſtneſſe of the *Venetians*, he reſolved to have recourſe to force, and to intereſt the Catholike Princes in the ſame.

France had no other ſcope in this affaire then to arbitrate the difference, and to have the honor of deciding ſo important a queſtion between two Princes ſo conſiderable

in Christendome. For this effect she shewed not any partiality, although it be true that *Villeroy* (through his ambition to rise to a *Cardinalship*) inclined at the first to the Popes side, serving his turne therein by the ministration of his sonne, then Ambassador at *Rome*. But seeing himselfe disappointed of his hope, he returned to the temper which a just Mediator ought to have. So it is; that oftentimes a privat interest doth prejudice the publike. *Happy are the States, wherein those that sit at the helm of government, have so noble a spirit as not to ayme at any other greatnesse then that which is inseparably conjoynt with the*

glory

glory of the Prince whom they serve.

The *Spaniards* conceived it best to foment the discord between the two parties, thinking that it was in their power to hinder the warre, if their profit so required: or else to make it serve their own advantage. They therefore let the businesse run its course without prescribing any thing to their Ambassador which was at *Rome*; who handsomly intertained the Pope in his opinion, with intent to obtaine a Cardinalship for his brother by this meanes.

The *Emperor* was a Mediatour; the King of *Poland* favored the Republike: the *Prin-*

ces of *Germany* meddled not at all in the matter.

The *King* of *England* was glad to ſee this buſineſſe daily wax hot. He promiſed all aſſiſtance to the Republike of *Venice*, as by all reaſon he was obliged to deale in this manner. For he believed that this would rowſe up the other *Catholike Princes* which were intereſſed to maintaine their Lawes. And that it would be an occaſion to deliberate of a *Councell* which may determine ſo many Controverſies.

The *States* of the *united Provinces* offered to the *Venetians* ſuccour of arms and munition.

The

The *Princes* of *Italie*, ſince they ſaw the Pope remaine confuſed and wavering in himſelf, as if he had manifeſtly repented, they appeare all newters in this affaire, following that which belonged to their true intereſt.

Only the Duke of *Savoy* let himſelfe be tranſported by his paſſion. For the Republike having written to his children with the title of Excellence, as he had accuſtomed to doe, He in deſpite kept Chappell without admitting there the Ambaſſador of *Venice*, and this at inſtance of the Nuntio reſiding neer unto him. It is not in this affaire alone, that this Prince hath carried himſelf ra-

ther capriciouſly, then after the true Maxime of his Intereſt.

France continued to ſolicite the Accord, without ſhewing any paſſion for the one party, or the other; following herein her true *intereſt*. For becauſe one ſhall hardly ſee an open warre betwixt two ſo pacifique Princes, She could not reape any other profit by this difference, then the honor only to have reconciled the ſame.

The *Spaniards* perceiving this, began to recoile, and deſire to have a hand in making *Peace*, ſince they could not have it in *Warre*, They judged well that the Pope was diſpo-

ſed

ſed to caſt himſelf into their armes, and to go which way they would, becauſe he had a mind to agreement. But they ſaw alſo the *Venetians* ſo firme in their reſolution, as they had no hope to bend them. Wherfore they eſſayed to trouble them with the *Turk*, to the end they might be conſtrained to have recourſe unto them, and that by this means it ſhould be in them power, to bring the Senate to accept ſuch conditions as the *Pope* pleaſed to allow them. But they failed ſo much in that which they endeavored to doe by the means of the *Turk*, as (on the contrary) it became advantageous to the *Republike*. For

though the Marquesse *de Saint Croy* having ransacked *Duras*, believed that the *Turks* (to take revenge) would turn against the Republike, as being neerest, or at least enter within the *Gulfe*. Yet it happened that the *Turk* perceiving the *Spanish* wiles, commanded the Admirall of his Fleet to ayde the *Venetians* against the *Pope* and the *Spaniards*. But the Republike judging it not fit to make use of such a help (for feare the remedy should be worse then the disease it self) she put it off so handsomly that the *Grand Signior* received not any distaste thereby. Nevertheless making the *Pope* understand, that in case of necessity,

ſity, ſhe well knew whither to have recourſe.

The *Spaniards*, out of ſeaſon offered a whole entire Army to the *Pope*. Some believed that it was for to reclaime the *Venetians* by this way, but it was nothing leſſe. For all whatſoever the *Spaniards* did then for the *Pope*, proceeded only becauſe the Duke of *Lerma* was tickled with vain-glory, for that the *Pope* in his Briefs had given him the title of *Excellence*.

Laſtly they perceived in *Spaine* that this buſines would be ended by treaty, and that *France*, was to have all the honor thereof. This made them about to ſend extraordinary Em-

Embaſſadors from the one ſide to the other, but it was too late, the negociation being ſo far advanced by the *French*, that it was impoſſible to get it out of their hands. Inſomuch as whatſoever the *Spaniards* could do to croſſe the Treaty, the honour thereof remained full and wholly to *Henry*, who ended the buſineſſe by the dexterity and prudence of the *Cardinall de Joyeuſe*, and of *Frenes-Canaye*, ordinary Embaſſador at *Venice*. The Priſoners were delivered into the hands of the Embaſſador: The Lawes of the *Rebuplike* continued without alteration: and the *Pope* was forced to take off the Interdict without any

to-

token of ſubmiſſion from the ſaid *Republike*.

This hath been a war of Negotiati on, wherein the *Venetians* full and wholly carried the victory. Likewiſe one muſt acknowledge, they were ingaged to deal in that part wherein they were moſt able.

They followed therein all the maximes of their true intereſt: The *Pope* did quite contrary: *Spaine* was amuſing after Chymeraes: and *France* had the ſcope which ſhe ought to have, wherefore ſhee likewiſe had the glory.

THE

THE FOURTH DISCOURSE *Concerning* THE TRUCE OF the *Low-Countries* with the KING of *Spaine.*

THE Truce of the *Low--Countries* with the King of *Spaine*, is an infallible proofe of the excellence of the *Spaniards*

ards in matter of Negociation.

The King of *Spaine* ſeeing that in fortie yeers ſpace, the warre had augmented, and enriched this *State*, in ſtead of overthrowing it, and that it would greatly diminiſh his reputation to treate of Peace with thoſe, whom (even till then) he had treated as Rebells, he therefore reſolved to doe his utmoſt to enter into their Countrey, and to make them feele (even within their intrailes) the diſcommoditie of Warre. For which purpoſe, he employed the two laſt Summers under the command of Marqueſſe *Spinola*, one of the renownedſt Captaines of the

the time, Who with powerfull Armies endeavored to enter, the firſt yeere into *Frisland*, and the ſecond into *Holland*. Nevertheleſſe *Maurice* Prince of *Orange* (a Captaine to whom we owe the reſtauration of the ancient militarie diſcipline) although he was much inferior to the forces of *Spinola*, yet he made ſo good uſe of the ſituation of his Countrey, that he fruſtrated all his endeavors. This having deprived the King of *Spaine* of all hope to conquer by force, he reſolved at laſt to make triall of a Treatie, at the coſt even of his reputation. But his end herein was, Frſt, to ſecure the traffick of the *Indies* : where hee was endama-

endamaged by them, 2. to divide them in the time of peace: and lastly, to beare armes more advantageously against people lesse trained in warre, and more easie to subdue, being confident that any good successe in some affaire would make him recover that reputation which he then hazarded, and whereof he hath been ever jealous. A *Monke* did first lay open the matter to a *Holland* Merchant. The hope given to the *States*, that in this Accord, the King of *Spaine* would acknowledge them for *free States*, made them give eare, whereupon followed a suspension of Arms for to treat more at large.

This

This intermission awaked the interessed and neighbour Princes. HENRY's minde was troubled with the true interest of his Estate, which hee best of all knew, and also by his particular affections. The *States* (by reason of their interest) had succoured him in his necessitie: He (for the same reason) powerfully assisted them in his prosperitie. He willingly would have them continue the Warre, provided that he augmented not his assistance: They offered to continue the same, on condition that he would double the money which he gave them yeerly. The desire of doing thriftily, made him seeme to incline,

cline, and not altogether abandon his true intereſt, thinking it ſhould be a great advantage for him to remove from his frontiers ſuch good Armes which a Peace, or long Truce might diſſipate, and that it ſhould be a great honor for him to cauſe the *Low-Countries* to be declared a free *State*, Inſomuch as hee bent his thoughts to become Arbitrator of this Negotiation, and to make it ſucceed advantageouſly for the *Low-Countries*.

JAMES the Firſt, King of *England*, Whoſe ſtrong inclination to peace, did not alſo permit him to follow the true Intereſt of his Realme, which was to nouriſh Warre in the

Low-

Low-Countries, for to consume the forces of *Spaine*, and hinder their enterprise upon him, he contents himself to have part in the Treatie by his Embassadors.

Divers Protestant Princes of *Germanie* (imagining well that the Armes of *Spaine* being no more imployed there, might fall upon them) doe likewise send their Embassadors, of purpose to divert this Accord, or else to procure the protection of those that intermedled in the businesse.

Maurice whose particular interest was joyned with the true Interest of the *States*, wholly withstood the Accord. *Bernaveld*, who had most abilitie in the

the State-affaires of the Countrey, ſeeing that his own credit grew in Peace rather then in warre, he would have the intereſts of the *State* to ſerve his own ends. Here is the true pourtrait of thoſe that dealed in this affaire.

But for the better underſtanding of the true intereſt of the *States*, we muſt remount higher, and come to the originall. *William* of *Naſſau*, Prince of *Orange*, who alone in this Age had the honor to found a State (although neither his diſgraces received, nor the endeavors of PHILIP, the moſt puiſſant and able Prince of his Time, could have hindred him) was conſtrained

to

to aſſemble the peeces for to compoſe a bodie thereof, with ſuch conditions as each Town and Province required. For, having met with people that have ever affected their libertie more then their very lives, he could not alter the conditions whereupon they firſt joyned themſelves unto him. This ſame hath cauſed in this *State* ſo many Republikes as there be Townes, amongſt whom (in a generall decree) plurality of voices have no place, becauſe that if any one Towne approve it not, ſhe is not bound to obſerve it. So as he deviſed rather to flatter them in their libertie, that he might wholly take off their deſire to complie

plie with *Philip*, then to propound unto them good lawes, for to maintaine them in the time of Peace.

His ſon *Maurice*, brought up from his infancie in Armes, thought principally of the eſtabliſhing of military diſcipline, as the thing then moſt neceſſary to uphold the *State*, wherein he ſurpaſſed all the Captaines of his time. Inſomuch as this *State* being exceeding well grounded for to ſubſiſt by warre, and as ill to maintaine it ſelf in Peace, it is evident, that the true intereſt thereof is to continue the Warre.

According to the intereſt of each Prince, their Embaſſadors

dors being aſſembled at the *Hague*, did worke about. The *Spaniards* make a great difficultie to ratifie the declaration of the *Archdukes* (who acknowledged the *States* free, and ſoveraigne) to the intent to make them better reliſh the ſame, and that in yeelding they might obtaine of them conditions that would worke their ruine. As, the grant of libertie of conſcience to *Catholicks*, thereby to make diviſions among them: The privation of traffick in the *Indies*, and ſo to make a mutinie by the Merchants, the moſt conſiderable corporation amongſt them: Beſides the exchange of certaine places moſt advantage-

ous to the King of *Spaine*, and most prejudiciall to the said *States*.

Maurice earnestly opposed such conditions: *Bernaveld* durst not countenance them. *France* and *England* (perceiving the venome hidden under the same) could not digest them. In such wise as all Treatie of peace being broken, they renew that of a Truce for many yeers. *Maurice* doth his best to hinder it, but *Barnaveld* backed by *France* and *England*, is the cause they did hearken to it. The work begins anew; and the *Spaniards* seeing they could not obtaine the conditions which they desired, imagining

gining alſo their repoſe to be very neceſſary, at length they gave over, ſaving that the Article, which declared the *States free*, and that of traffick in the *Indies* were couched ſo obſcurely, as they might ſave their reputation, and interpret them to their own advantage, as occaſion ſhould ſerve.

On the other ſide, the *French* for to induce the *States* to conclude, make a league with them, wherein they obleige themſelves to give them pay for ten thouſand Souldiers. Specially for to make them keep the Truce, in caſe it ſhould be broken on the *ſpaniards* ſide; whereupon the *Spaniards* complaining, they were

anſwered, that whatſoever was done, was for their good, and that without doing the ſame, nothing could be obtained. *Maurice* for his part, yeelds unto that which he could not hinder, conditionally that the Armie might be maintained for the ſecurity of the State, *Henry* approveth this condition, and contributeth to the maintenance of 4000. Foote, and 200. Horſe. So as, the Truce was concluded for 12. yeers: the *States* acknowledged *free and Soveraigne*: and their Ambaſſadors received in this qualitie by Princes. Thus ended this negociation, which laſted two yeers, where each one endeavors to deceive the other,

other, and also flatters himself with the perswasion of having gotten that which he had desired.

In effect, *Henry* had the most honor in this affaire, and the *States* (by his means) the most profit. But he being dead, and *Lewis* upon the Throne, at 9. yeers of age, there was an universall alteration in *France*. For, *Mary* had obtained the Regencie, and willing to strengthen her authoritie against the Princes of the blood, and great ones of the Realme, she procured a disunion amongst them, and cast her self into the armes of *Rome* and *Spaine*, beleeving that she had then need of the former Po-

er, and alwaies of the latter, insomuch as during the time of her government, the true interest of *France* being abandoned, there was taken the contrarie course.

The *Spaniards* lost not so good an occasion, especially upon the *Low-Countries*, in the businesse of the *Arminians*, the which *Bernaveld* (seeing himself upheld by *France*, through the practises of *Spaine*) undertook to maintaine against the Prince of *Orange*, in such wise, as that from a dispute of Religion, there was made an affaire of State, so pernicious, that it was like to ruine this Common-wealth. Here it was where the *Spaniard* displayed

all his cunning, for to make *Mary* worke in this Countrey, according to his interests. He perswaded her that her disunion was advantageous to her, to maintain her authoritie. To the end that she might not assist the Princes of the blood discontented with her, nor the Protestants of *France* which might joyne with the said Princes. He makes her to act a superstitious zeale, which is an evill counsellor to those that entertaine it. So as the Ambassadors of *France* (under the pretence of zeal to Religion) become solicitors of the affaires of *Spaine* in *Holland*. They favour the cause of *Bernaveld*: they foment the divi-

ſion within the State : they bring it upon the very brinke of its downfall, and had it not been for the patience, and conſtant courage of *Maurice*, aſſiſted by the ſouldiers, this Republike had run the hazard, to ſeem as ſoone extinct, as born.

By that which is aforeſaid, and by the ſequell of affaires, one may judge that the true intereſts of the State of the *United Provinces*, are to maintaine warre againſt *Spaine*, otherwiſe it would be ruined of it ſelf. The intereſts of *France* and *England* are to aſſiſt the ſaid State, for to give *Spaine* this bone to pick. The Intereſts of the *Germane* Princes are to foment the ſame, to the

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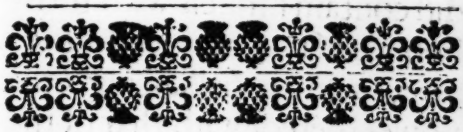
end that by the fall of this burden, they likewiſe be not overthrowne. And the intereſts of *Spaine* are to keepe all the other in broiles amongſt themſelves, or ſet them one againſt another, leaſt they ſhould all accord againſt her. Therefore ſo ſoone as any of them have abandoned theſe maximes, their affaires fall to the ground.



THE FIFTH DISCOURSE UPON THE AFFAIRE *about the Succeſſion of* Cleves *and* Julliers.

SINCE the time of CHARLES the Fifth, *Germanie* lived very happie, ſo long as ſhee kept her true intereſt, and whilſt that the *Emperour* did

did contain himſelf within the bounds of the laws of the *Empire*, which ballancing the power thereof with that of the Princes and Republikes of *Germanie*, ſuffered them not to uſurpe one upon another.

The firſt that forſook this intereſt were the *Princes Electors*, in having continued the Imperiall dignitie without interruption to many of one and the ſame family, who in tract of time have raiſed the ſame to the prejudice of the Imperiall Lawes, the which hath chiefly happened to the houſe of *Auſtria*, ſpecially ſince this houſe and that of *Spaine* have been both the ſelf ſame thing. For, ſeeing her

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ſelfe eſtabliſhed in ſo high a dignitie, and ſupported by ſuch a power, ſhe was willing to be there perpetuated, and becauſe ſhe would not be violently incountered hereafter, ſhe hath eſſayed to put down thoſe who had lawfull right to interupt that courſe, endeavoring likewiſe to lift up her ſelfe by abolifhing the lawes of the Empire, and by uſurping the principall States, and Townes thereof.

The firſt evident occaſion that hath manifeſted in our time this deſigne, was upon the ſucceſſion of *Cleves* and *Julliers*, which happened in the beginning of *March*, the yeare 1609. occaſioned by the

the death of *John William*, who having no children of his own, left this goodly heritage to his foure sisters married, to the Elector of *Brandebourg*: to the Duke of *Newbourg*: to the Duke of *Deu-ponts*: and to the Marq. of *Turgaw*. The first of these laid claim to the succession entire, as indivisible, having married the eldest. The second makes the same claime, because the eldest sister died before the brother, & his wife was the eldest of the sisters living. The two other say, that it ought to be equally parted betwixt them all foure. Moreover the Elector of *Saxonie* revived an old title, and also the Duke of *Nevers* another. *Brandebourg* and

and *Nuubourg* enter in possession, the Emperor becomes offended thereat, pretending that the whole heritage ought to be sequestred into his hands, and each of them to undergoe his ordinance. He sends thither *Leopold* a Prince of his own House, who seiseth on *Julliers* the principall fortresse of the Countrie.

The Princes that were in possession, seeing such an obstacle, judged well that this sequestration tended to an usurpation, and not thinking themselves able enough to resist, in regard of the neighborhood of *Flanders*, and of the best forces of *Spaine* (who in an occasion so advantageous for

for the houſe of *Auſtria* would not faile to helpe her kinſman) they have recourſe to thoſe, who were principally intereſſed to impeach the amplification of the ſaid Houſe. They rally to their defence, *France*, *England*, and the *Low-Countries*, with the moſt part of the Proteſtant Princes of *Germanie*, who made ſuch a mighte warlike proviſion to recover *Julliers* ſeiſed by the ſaid *Leopold*, that notwithſtanding the unexpected death of *Henry*, which happened before the execution, yet the deſigne was happily accompliſhed, *Spaine* not daring to oppoſe it.

One may ſee in this affaire, every

every ones true intereſt. That of the *Emperor* was, to make uſe of the occaſion to catch hold of ſuch an eſtate in *Germany*: That of the King of *Spaine*, to aſſiſt him therein, as well for the principall end, which is, the advancement of the whole Houſe, as for the Neighbourhood of the ſaid State to *Flanders*: That of the lawfull ſucceſſors, was to maintaine their owne right: That of the *Germaine* Princes, not to ſuffer that Power whereof they were jealous, to be ſtrengthened by their owne weakning: And the intereſts of *France*, *England* and *Holland* were, not to permit the amplifying of all the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

ſtria. Hitherto every one played his game aright; but *Mary*, for to ſupport the intereſts of *Spaine*, that promiſed her to maintain hers even to the end, abandoneth thoſe of *France*, and again ſecondeth the trouble about this ſucceſſion.

The occaſion was offered by the imprudence of the Princes that held the poſſeſſion, which cauſed the King of *Spaine* to reattempt the buſineſſe. The ſonnes of *Brandebourg* and *Neubourg* did joyntly governe this faire Eſtate. The fortreſſes were guarded by equal garriſons: they dwelt in the ſame Pallace, and managed their affaires with one common hand. But this laſt-

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ed not long, it being no eaſie matter to governe a State long time after this manner without diſſention, eſpecially between two Princes of diverſe houſes, where there is alſo diverſitie of Religion. They began to enter into jealouſie one of another. Thoſe that were friends to them both, and intereſſed in their ſubſiſtence, perceiving the ſame, and fearing leaſt their misintelligence ſhould increaſe, perſwaded them to make an alliance together. *Neubourg* agrees thereto, goes to the Elector *Brandebourg*, and requires of him his daughter in marriage. But as the beſt meats, being corrupted,

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turn into the ſtrongeſt poiſon: ſo in the moſt wholſome counſell given to theſe *Princes*, to confirme their amitie, there was found occaſion of a moſt implacable hatred, which cauſed the ruine of them both in the ſaid ſucceſſion. For, whil'ſt they were in the deboſhes of their feaſts, the *Elector* upon ſome diſcourſe that did not pleaſe him, offended *Newbourg* ſo farre (even in his own houſe, and at the table) as to give him a boxe on the eare, for which he would not afterward make him any reaſonable ſatisfaction: In ſuch wiſe, that in ſtead of a wife, he carries back an offence ſo engraven in his heart, as he admit-

teth

teth no other counſell, but that of revenge. This ſpirit thus exaſperated, being upon returne to *Cleve-land*, it was eaſie for the *Spaniards* to gaine him to them. They made means to marry him with the ſiſter of the Duke of *Bavaria*, perſwaded him to turn *Catholick*, for to make all the *Catholick* league of *Germanie* to be on his ſide; they take him into Protection, and give him a penſion,

The *United States* ſeing how prejudiciall this change would be to them, they ſupported *Brandebourg*. Theſe Princes from ſuſpicions, doe come to attempts, *Newbourg* ſeiſeth on *Duſſeldorp* : *Brande-*

bourg

bourg on *Julliers*, from whence the King of *Spaine* takes a pretext to ſtirre, and armeth powerfully to recover the ſame. The *States* on the other ſide, prepare to defend it. They furniſh it with men and munition fit to ſuſtain a great ſiege. The true intereſts of *France* being forſaken, they had nothing from thence but words, and Embaſſages; *England* ſeeing *France* had given off, was contented to doe the like, in ſending her Ambaſſadors. The Princes of *Germanie* ſeeing themſelves forſaken of theſe two Crownes, and divided amongſt themſelves, both by Religion, and by the different affections that they bore

to

to those two Princes, they therefore stirre not at all. *Spaine* finding now no other opposition, but onely from the *United States*, prosecuteth her intentions, and whilst she amuseth the Ambassadors of these two Kings, shee sends *Spinola* into the countrey with a puissant Armie, who in stead of setting upon *Julliers* (which was then but a rude enterprise) he goes to invade the *States*, hee passeth the *Rhine*, assaults and takes *Wezel* within foure daies.

Maurice seeing this exploit, he delayes no longer, leaves the Ambassadors in their Negociation, takes *Rez* and *Emerick*, and at length (a thing never

never before ſeene) theſe two Armies ſeize upon this heritage without impeachment one of another without breaking the Truce: and alſo without making any skirmiſh at all. For, when one of theſe Captains had poſſeſſed a place, the other ſtill retired, not pretending any thing there. So as he that was moſt diligent, made the moſt progreſſion. The reaſon of this gentle dealing was, becauſe *Spinola* knew well the Armie of *Maurice* to be better then his owne, *Maurice* likewiſe well underſtood that the ſafeguard of the *States* conſiſted in the ſubſiſtence of his Armie. So as he beleeved he ſhould come off with

with the King of *Spaine*: without exposing any thing to danger.

It is now easie to judge that the ruine of the Princes which were in the possession, proceeded from hence. *Viz.* Because that *Newbourg* forsaking his true interest, to follow his passion, cast himself into the armes of *Spain*: Because the *Protestant* Princes of *Germanie* not considering their true interest, did not stirre at all: likewise because *France* embracing not the interest of *Maurice*, forsook her own, and for that *England* did the like with *France*. On the other side, the advantage that *Spaine* and the *Low-Countries* have gotten in this

conquest proceeded hence, for that both the one and the other were entirely fixed upon their true interest.

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THE SIXT DISCOURSE UPON THE ELECTION OF *the* Count Palatine *to the Kingdome of* Bohemia.

IF the quantitie of ſet battells, or the number of the perſons ſlaine : or the revolution of ſundrie *States* : or the quality

of the Princes interesſed : or the length of the time might make a Warre memorable, then that which *Germanie* now ſuffers, is in the higheſt degree, ſince that there are given already more then fifteen battells : three hundred thouſand men have loſt their lives in the ſame : almoſt all the States of *Germanie* have thereby changed their condition, and their Maſters : all the Princes of *Europe* have taken an intereſt therein : and it is now fourteen yeers ſince the warre begun, without being yet ended.

The occaſion thereof happened through the rejection of *Ferdinand* of *Auſtria* from the

the Kingdome of *Bohemia*, and the Election of the said Kingdome conferred on the person of *Frederic* Count *Palatine* of *Rheine*.

The *first* would establish himselfe in a dignitie, which he beleeved was unjustly taken from him: The *second* would maintaine himselfe in the Kingdome, as being justly chosen thereunto. The *first* would make it a businesse of Religion, thereby to interest all the Catholick Princes of *Europe* in the same: The *second* would shew that it was nothing else but a State-warre, that he might interest in the same all those by whom the greatnesse of *Spaine* was suspected.

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But for to judge well of this great commotion, one ought to remount a little higher. It is certaine that since the warre which happened about the succession of *Cleves* and *Julliers*, *Germanie* was as it were divided in two factions, and (in imitation of the Catholicks) the Protestants also had made a league, whereof the Prince Elector *Palatine* was chosen Chief, as the Duke of *Bavaria* had been of the other. The pretence which every one took for the defence of his Religion, did agravate the matter amongst them. And the secure peace which this Nation had enjoyed a long time, did not permit her (following the revo-

revolution of this world) to abide thus any longer. There wanted only an occaſion to make her bandie againſt her ſelfe.

The *Bohemians* preſent this occaſion, whether it were by reaſon of their naturall ficklenesse, or for being ill treated in the libertie of their conſciences, or elſe through ſome diſcontentment of the principall men amongſt them, or for all theſe reaſons together, they reject *Ferdinand* their King, and chooſe *Frederick* in his place. And (for to render themſelves ſo much the more irreconcilable with him) in the full aſſemblie of the States, they caſt thoſe of his

party out of the windows.

This action arrived in the yeere 1619. after which every one tooke armes. The Protestants were the forwardest, for they were already prepared to it, and attended onely the bruit of this Election to begin the game. Amongst those who took part with *Frederick*, he that brought the most powerfull assistance, was *Betheleem Gabor*, who from an ordinary Gentleman being made Prince of *Transilvania*, and fearing the house of *Austria*, which had alwayes endeavored to appropriate this State, he put himself into the protection of the *Turk* for to secure the same: and finding so faire

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an opportunitie to depresse this House, his interest suffered him not to loose it. The *United Provinces* (not to be wanting to their interest) doe here contribute on their part. The King of *Denmark* for the same reason, and also for his honor and reputation, assisteth his Nephew. King JAMES more interessed then he, forgetteth his interest concerning his Son in law. The King of *France* likewise drawes back, and stands Neuter. At this beginning, *Ferdinand* is ill handled, and reduced to great extremities.

Here *Spaine*, seeing that she must venture her share too, or else loose both her hopes and

reputation, ſhe ſpares nothing, but uſeth all manner of means. In *Germanie* ſhe urgeth the Elector of *Saxonie* againſt the *Palatine* in point of honor; ſhe remonſtrates unto him that he holds his Electorſhip of the houſe of *Auſtria*, and that he cannot maintaine it without her. At *Rome* ſhe perſwades the *Pope* that her loſſe is the ruine of the Catholick Religion, and the means to make all Chriſtendome a prey to the *Turke*. Inſomuch as the *Pope* abandoning his true intereſt, takes part with her, furniſheth both men and money, and laboureth to declare the other Catholick Princes for her defence. In *England* ſhe eaſilie enter-

entertaines King JAMES in his peaceable inclination. In *France* (by the Nuntio's help) ſhe gaineth the Duke *de Luine*, who having uſurped neere LEWIS the authoritie that MARY had there poſſeſſed, he took alſo the ſame maximes, ſupporting himſelfe by *Spaine*, which never faileth in ſuch occaſions to maintain thoſe who diſtruſting their owne worth, ſeeke their ſecuritie out of the Realme. So as the intereſt of a Favorite being preferred before that of the State, they aſſiſt *Spaine*. But to the end that it might be with more profit, and leſſe noiſe, they undertake an agreement: they ſend Ambaſſadors to both parties: they

they amuſe the *Proteſtants* with faire hopes : they make them looſe the opportunitie of a victorie, which they had in hand, and they induce them to diſarme. In the mean while the *Catholicks* having this time for reſpite, ſtrengthen themſelves on all ſides; take their advantage: proſecute their former deſignes, and by gaining the battell of *Prague*, wholly ruine their enemies.

In this revolution of affairs, *Spaine* makes good uſe of the victorie, continues her intelligences amongſt her Neighbours, that ſhe might not be diverted in her conqueſts, and joynes her forces of *Flanders* to thoſe of *Italie*, for to become

come absolute Mistresse of the Empire. Feare and corruption interpose amongst the Princes of *Germanie*, and the Imperiall Townes, Every one hasteth to submit himself to the yoake, distrusting least he should not be time enough received there. The Counsellors of Princes, and Magistrates of Common-wealthes are corrupted by money, and all contribute to forge the irons of their own bondage.

This kind of proceeding makes the King of *Denmarke* feare least the firing of *Germanie* consume him, he takes the defence thereof, and goes into the field, but is vanquished, looseth part of his dominions, and

and for to recover it againe, is constrained to make a dishonorable peace. The *Transilvanian* seeing this disorder, maketh his peace likewise, but so much the better by reason of the *Turk's* protection.

Here was the issue of the second revolution of the affaires of *Germanie*, which proceeded chiefly from this, that *France* prostituted her interest to the greatnesse of *Spaine*.

We should come now to the third revolution. *It is oftentimes more difficult to governe our selves well in great prosperity, then in adversity; because that the one ingenders neglect, and lulls us in idlenesse: but the necessity of the other keeps us waking,*

king, and makes us ſearch the means of our reſtauration. Such was the caſe of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, who ſeeing her ſelf from ſuch a heavie blow authorized beyond her hopes, abſolute Miſtreſſe of *Germany*, of innumerable armies entertained at the coſt of her enemies, *France* not ſtirring againſt her proceedings, and beſides imbroiled in Civill warres. *England* yet forgetting her intereſt. *Holland* having enough to doe to conſerve her owne, and *Italie* without appearance of being able to defend it ſelf, Shee therefore feareth nothing, but deſpiſeth all: in ſuch wiſe, as without hiding any more her de-

designe under the pretence of Religion (wherewith she had so well served her purpose, even to the present) she openly invades the Territories of the Duke of *Mantua*, being a great Catholike, vaunting she could not suffer a Prince that was *French-borne* to possesse any State in *Italy*, which is the first remarkable error that she committed against her owne interest. For, this usurpation gave all the Princes of *Italie* to understand, that the tempest would come whirling upon them, insomuch as the Duke of *Mantua* was assisted by the most resolute amongst them.

LEWIS cannot digest this affront, and being assisted with

with a Counſell, whoſe prudence and reſolution was neceſſary in ſuch a perillous conjunction of affaires, he fortunately imployed his Armes in his defence; Which was the firſt occaſion of importance, wherein hee recovered the uſage of his true intereſt. But ſeeing that diverſions in *Germanie* were needfull for him, and not finding the ſame amongſt the *Germains* being oppreſſed with the burden of ſo grievous a ſubjection, hee goes to ſeek them in the cold Northerne parts. The renown of GUSTAVUS, King of *Swedeland* had been carried even unto him. This Prince his deſire of glory made him

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easilie surmount any difficulties hee could imagine: likewise his vast and great designs he surpassed, as it were, by such a courage in execution, as made him not dishearken to any enterprise. The conquests of WALSTEIN (Generall of the *Emperor's* armie) upon the *Baltick* sea, and the provisions which he made to render himselfe Master there, made the King of *Swede-land* know, that he might well be in suspition of the House of *Austria*, and that his interest was to oppose the same. Hee therefore allieth himself with *France*, and prepares to enter into *Germanie*, for to deliver it from the thraldome where-

whereunto it was reduced.

Here is the ſecond fault that *Spaine* committed againſt her true intereſt, to wit, the contemning of this Prince. For whilſt that on the one ſide he enters into *Germanie*, the *Emperor* (at the ſollicitation of the King of *Spaine*) ſendeth his beſt troupes into *Italie* againſt the Duke of *Mantua*, which were neere all periſhed there without any great effect. And the ſucceſſe of GUSTAVUS in *Germanie* was ſuch, as that thoſe of the *Emperor's* ſide and the *Spaniards*, were faine to conclude a peace in *Italie* with the *French* (at the expence of what they had gotten, and of that reputation where-

whereof they make ſo great eſteem) for to draw back the remainder of their ſcattered troupes to the ſuccour of *Germanie*, leaving in the hand of the *French*, *Cazal* for a place of armes in *Italie*, and *Pignerol* as a port to enter therein. So as the deſire to conquer *Italie* before they were well aſſured of the conqueſt of *Germanie*, made them looſe both the one and the other.

This happy exploit of LEWIS, made him acknowledg his former errors, and wholly embrace his true intereſt. Hee delivers the *Grizons* from their ſervitude; diverteth the united *States* from accepting a Truce, main-

tain-

taineth the *Swediſh* partie notwithſtanding the death of GUSTAVUS, defendeth the Elector of *Triers* againſt the perſecutions of the *Spaniards*, and chaſtiſeth the Duke of *Lorraine* for adhering to the *Emperor*. In a word, he doth bravely recover his place, which his ill Counſellours had made him forgoe.

Pope URBAN ſeeing himſelfe delivered from the apprehenſion of the *Spaniards* and *Germains*, having likewiſe underſtood by the invaſion made upon the Duke of *Mantua*, that they would deale no otherwiſe with the Catholick States, then with the Proteſtants, he thereupon oppoſeth them. The

Repub-

Republike of *Venice* that considers better then any other State what belongs to her true interest, and which never fails but in too much circumspection (as ordinarily those Common-wealths doe, which are not founded by Armes.) she continueth nevertheleſſe her assistance to the Duke of *Mantua*. *Amedis* Duke of *Savoye* receiving instruction by the danger that he and his Father were in, to looſe their Estates through neglecting their true interest, doth now rejoyne himselfto *France*. The other Princes of *Italie* seeing the aide of *France* could be no impeachment to them, let goe the apprehension which they had

had of the *Spaniards*. The *Germane* Princes and *Imperiall* Townes ſeeing themſelves ſupported by the armes of *France* and *Swede-land*, aſſiſted by the diverſion of their other allies, and reaſſured by the proſperous ſucceſſe of their affaires, they take courage againe. *England* alone, as if ſhe were in another world, remains without medling at all.

On the other ſide, *Spaine* failes not to animate her cauſe, takes up againe the pretence of the *Catholick* Religion, which ſhee had as it were left off, and perceiving the error ſhe committed thereby, cryeth more then ever

ever against the *Protestants*, exceedingly urgeth the *Pope* to have of him his money, and his fulminations, maketh much of the *Venetians*, courteth the *English*, intertaineth dissention in the house Royall of *France*, mightily endeavoureth to draw the *United Provinces* to a Truce, laboureth to disingage the Duke of *Saxonie* from the *Swedish* partie, neither is shee cast off by any repulse. And yet notwithstanding shee spares neither men nor money for to raise new armies to oppose her enemies. In brief, necessitie hath reduced every one to follow his true interest,

tereſt, which is the reaſon that in this laſt revolution, the conteſtation about theſe affaires is of longer continuance.

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THE SEVENTH DISCOURSE UPON THE COMMOTIons that happened in *Italy* for the ſucceſſion of the *Dutchies of* Mantua *and* Montferrat.

ITALIE enjoyed a profound peace, and found it ſelfe wholly exempt from ſuſpicions, which are wont to

disturbe the repose of States, when on a sudaine happened the death of FRANCIS Duke of *Mantua*, which (one may say) produced the seeds of all those troubles that have at severall times since distrested this Country. For CHARLES EMANUEL, Duke of *Savoy*, quarrelling (in right of his grand-childe MARIE) for the Dutchie of *Montferrat* with FERDINAND, so inkindled the fire of warre in *Italie*, as since it was never so well extinct, but that from time to time the cinders thereof have caused new flames.

FERDINAND supported rather by the justice of his cause, then by his own forces, implo-

implored the aide of all the Princes, which by common interest were oblieged not to suffer such an outrage.

MARIE, in whose hands at that time lay the government of FRANCE, thinkking of nothing more (during the minoritie of the King her sonne) then to maintaine her selfe in peace, she beleeved she had enough to doe to smother the factions of the Kingdome, and to appease by all meanes those that were capable to resist her authoritie. So she regarded the commotions of *Italy* no further then to endeavor to asswage them, and shee imployed her credit to induce the *Pope* to interpose be-

tween the two parties for their accord.

The King of *Spaine* considered the beginning of this discord after another manner: For perceiving the advantage that might from thence accrue unto him, he intermedled so farre in all the whole course of this affaire, as he failed but very little to draw from thence advantages proportionable to his designes.

The Princes of *Italie*, whilst the game was playing, looked on without medling therewith. The *grand Duke* undertook the defence of the Duke of *Mantua*, beleeving he was obliged by his proper interest to assist the weaker against

gainſt the ſtronger, beſides the particular reaſons that incited him thereunto.

The Duke of *Savoy*, ſeeing the ſmall advancement that he could hope for from his enterpriſe, hearkened to an accord which was propoſed to him, and letting the buſineſſe be put to a treatie, he contented himſelfe with the glory that he durſt undertake to uſurpe upon his Neighbour, and ſo all this goodly deſigne vaniſhed into ſmoake, even as it had been plotted againſt all reaſon, it being not the intereſt of a Duke of *Savoy*, nor of any other Prince of *Italie* to imbroile himſelf with his neighbors, ſince all the advantage

that can redound from the ſame, is to ſee the difference reconciled by the power of one of theſe two Kings, which cannot be without manifeſt danger.

This buſineſſe ſo ended, the King of *Spaine*, who had an eye ever upon *Piemont*, as a piece that lay fit for him, ſought a plauſible pretext to quarrell the Duke of *Savoy*. For, conſidering *France* out of caſe to meddle with the affairs of *Italy*, the Duke of *Savoy*, by the late warre, exhauſted both of men and money, and the other Princes of *Italy* diſunited betwixt themſelves, He thought fit to take his time to enter into *Piemont*, hoping, as he

he had had the glory to be arbitrator of the first controversie, without gaining so favorable an occasion for his particular profit, he would make amends for his default by reinflaming a second warre. Hee invaded then the Territories of the Duke of *Savoy*, where finding more resistance then he expected, he was in the end faine to make peace. It is true that *France* bestirred herselfe in this second occasion, but the principall commendation therein is due to the Marshall *de Lesdiguieres*, who in all this warre (albeit that he followed his particular ends) engaged *France* to embrace her true interest, as she ought to

have done in the former commotion.

This second trouble being appeased, the most understanding men judged well that *Italie* was not to continue longtime in peace. Because they saw FERDINAND, Duke of *Mantua* childlesse, and his brother VINCENT leading so disordered a life, as they beleeved he could not live long, and the event was answerable to their opinion. For, after FERDINAND's death, VINCENT (continuing the disorders whereunto he had formerly accustomed his body) died, leaving his cousen CHARLES *de* GONZAGUE, Duke of *Nevers*,

vers, heire of his Eſtates, who alone by all right could pretend there.

The death of VINCENT, although it was well enough foreſeene, yet it aſtoniſhed all the Princes of *Italie* in ſuch a manner as every one began ſeriouſly to conſider his affaires.

The *Venetians* foreſeeing that the *Spaniards* could not endure the inheritance ſhould be conferred on the Duke of *Nevers*, and that therefore they would divert the Emperor from giving him the inveſtiture, they reſolved to do their beſt for to fruſtrate their deſignes, ſuppoſing it would be a caſt too prejudiciall to them,

them, to ſee a Prince depending on the Houſe of *Auſtria*, eſtabliſhed in an Eſtate ſet in the middeſt of their own. That which moſt troubled the Republike, was the ſiege of *Rochell*, where the King of *France* was ſo ingaged, that he had not any hope to be free a long time. The *Pope* was agitated with the ſame motives as the Republick of *Venice*, but he could not ſo openly ſhew unto the King the deſire which he had to diſingage him from thence, leaſt he ſhould thereby witneſſe that his particular intereſt was more prevalent then that of the *Catholick Church*, for the honor whereof they pleaded in

in depressing the *Huguenots*.

The other Princes of *Italie* kept close, not daring to shew which way their inclination was bent.

The Duke of *Savoy* only imagined that he might profit by this warre, and upon the good opinion that he had of himselfe, was perswaded that he might share the conquest of *Montferrat* with the house of *Austria*.

The King of *Spaine* taking his advantage by the siege of *Rochell*, and by the presumption of the Duke of *Savoy*, thought fit to take his opportunitie to seise upon *Cazal*. Wee must confesse that his designe was well conceived, and

and with great likelihood of a fortunate ſucceſſe. Hitherto the *Spaniards* had in every thing ſo well taken their time, that it ſeemed a thing impoſſible to croſſe their deſignes, nevertheleſſe the wheele of their good fortunes began here to ſtop, and from hence forward we have ſeene a continuall company of ill accidents befall them, which laſt even to this day. For LEWIS by an incredible diligence and reſolution takes *Rochell* in deſpite of the *Engliſh*, forceth the Streight of *Suze*, relieveth *Cazal*, and ſo endangers the Dutchie of *Milaine*, that had it not been for the troubles in *Languedock* which hee deſired

to

to make an end of, he might have carried it away from the King of *Spaine* at the first blow.

The *Spaniards* secure themselves, and recovering the paths of their ordinary prudence, seise upon the *Grisons*, cause most mightie Armies to passe that way, send Marquesse *Spinola* to the government of *Milaine*, raise an armie in *Italie*, and besiege *Cazal* anew.

LEWIS sendeth strong forces into *Piemont*. The Duke of *Savoy* would amuse him with hopes of a peace: but he met with his match, with such an undaunted courage, that both in sight of him and *Spinola*,

nola, he forced from him *Pignerol*, which will be an everlasting memoriall to posteritie of the Reigne of LEWIS.

The siege of *Cazal* continues. The pestilence rageth in both the two armies. The *Venetians* receive an overthrow towards the *Mantuan*. The citie of *Mantua* is surprised. Notwithstanding all these accidents, LEWIS assembles new forces, and provides to relieve *Cazal*, In the meane time he falls sick at *Lyons*. The *Spaniard* sowes diffention in his Counsell, which interrupteth the course of so many heroike actions, and after so many stormes past, one seemes upon the point to suffer shipwrack

wrack in the haven. There appeared his vertue against whom all these devises were contrived, for at length he got out of this Labyrinth by the clue of honor. The King recovers his health : *Cazal* is bravely relieved : and the Duke of *Mantua* not only re-established in his Dominions, but (which will seem incredible to after-ages) he is invested therein by the Emperor. The *Grizons* are set at libertie : *Italy* is freed from the armies of Strangers : the port lies open to her assistance, and for divers defections of the Duke of *Lorraine*, they make sure of his Estates, by which meanes the communication of *Italie* with

with *Flanders* is barred.

See here the true and lively table of these differences, where note first of all the Duke of *Savoy* his fault in having imagined that he should share *Montferrat* with the House of *Austria* in despite of *France*, it being a case most evident, that he could not faile to be despoyled by the one or the other, or by both together, if extraordinary indulgence had not been used towards him.

It is also a thing wholly manifest that the Duke of *Lorrain* hath forsaken the maxime of his true interest in taking by a fit of jollitie the partie of the *Emperor* against that of *France*, in a season when the House

Houſe of *Auſtria* was ſo unable to defend herſelf, and that of *France* ſo free to enterpriſe.

As for the *Emperor*, he cannot excuſe himſelf for having invaded *Italie* before he was ſure of *Germanie*, and for having quitted the pretence of Religion (which hath ſo much ſerved him) in oppreſſing the Duke of *Mantua* being a great *Catholick*.

The reſolution of *France* will be for ever memorable, which notwithſtanding the ſiege of *Rochell* aſſiſted by the *Engliſh* : and the warre in *Laguedoc* which the *Spaniard* made ſhew to foment, hath not albeit ever abandoned her

true

true maximes, in aſſiſting powerfully her Neighbors, and every where daſhing the projects of *Spaine*. Whence I conclude, that the glory of the King, the greatneſſe of his State, and the eminent reputation that he now enjoyeth, will continue as long as he ſhall remaine conſtant in this reſolution.

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FINIS.

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THO. BROUN.

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ERRATA.

Part 1. *pag.* 38. *line* 1. the one *r.* one.
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